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VIEWS AND REVIEWS

I

IN this issue we consolidate with *Equity*, the happy little quarterly which Charles Fremont Taylor has for over twenty years issued as his personal organ from a quiet little office in Philadelphia. Primarily *Equity* was devoted with passionate faith to the initiative, referendum and recall, and Dr. Taylor has been the faithful librarian, historian and fact-gatherer of that movement. He never appeared in the field or fought campaigns and his research was mainly conducted by patient correspondence but every fight on these issues drew heavily upon his stock of ammunition and often on his funds. His was a modest and gentle flame but unwaveringly steady.

We become the heirs of his subscription list, his "good will" and his stores of information. We do not engage to promote or propagandize for the initiative, referendum and recall as he did, but we engage to create a committee with paid secretarial help to carry on systematic observation of these devices as now well-established features of our politics.

II

SEVERAL new party standards are to be spread hopefully to the breeze for the 1920 national election. There is a committee of forty-eight whose ambition is to establish a new Liberal party, another group who plan a Single tax party and a group of labor leaders who plan a Labor party. John Spargo had a National party a while ago and our history is full of similar attempts—all futile. The near-success of the Progressives is the exception that proves the rule, for that was rather a party split. There is no country in the world where new political ideas are so quickly and easily disseminated and brought to success; yet we never do it via a third party.

The fine effort and high purpose in these new parties could be conserved and turned into more hopeful channels if their leaders comprehended that our Democratic and Republican parties are not parties in the European parliamentary sense, but are essential and inseparable parts of our structure of government just as definitely as if they were written into the constitution. Their inconsistency of principle has often been pointed out. "What is a Democrat?" meets a fair retort in "What is a Republican?" The two parties stand in national and local elections as regardless of principles as do the institutions of direct primaries or the recall which they resemble in being mechanical. The election machinery of the constitution and the law does not reach to the people but a large gap is left which the private Republican

and Democratic political machinery fills in a rough and ready unofficial fashion. The regulation of this machinery by law, making it increasingly official, is sound doctrine under the circumstances.

III

Two basic differences in our government as compared with foreign democracies account for this situation. One is the long ballot which develops the necessity for highly-organized ticket-making to a point far beyond the capacity of volunteers or amateurs. The other is the unwieldly district, the electoral unit which is so large that by mere size it balks all efforts save those of the professional standing political machines to convass it.

A new party to succeed must be prepared not merely to write a platform and nominate president, congressmen and senators, but to meet the merely mechanical tasks of getting the names of its candidates on the ballots under forty-eight state laws, of carrying visible demonstrations of its campaign to every hamlet, of organizing a military nucleus in 3,000 counties and of nominating governors, state treasurers, aldermen, county clerks and coroners. Hearst apparently did not have money enough even to get his Independence party on the ballot generally throughout the country. The Progressives hooted at Timothy Woodruff, the Republican boss of Brooklyn, when he turned up at their state convention, yet it was the presence of such veterans with their captains and mercenaries that alone made the new party dangerous. If the Progressive party had become permanent, the Republican party would have automatically disappeared. Anybody can organize a noise but the sheer mechanical drudgery of creating and operating the necessary unofficial machinery of nomination, campaign and election balks every effort to go beyond the essential minimum of two parties.

City reformers learned this lesson long ago and in large municipalities third parties are now exceptional. The Farmers' Non-partisan League is just as genuinely a party as any that the 1920 dreamers could desire, yet every member of the North Dakota legislature has been elected as either a Republican or Democrat and the league's name is not on the ballot. The Socialists could probably have a real delegation in the house of representatives if they were willing to have them go as nominal Democrats and Republicans. The Prohibition party was a joke but look at the anti-saloon league!

IV

In municipal politics too little attention has been given to the political possibilities of the principle of the reform club within the party. The Brooklyn Young Republican Club has been a real factor in local politics for two generations. Its fees are nominal and its headquarters simply a hired meeting room. Members must be enrolled Republicans and free of machine domination. Nomination to public office automatically terminates membership. The club members under trained direction can be mobilized in pivotal district caucuses and committees, where, working with honest purpose, they can easily gather up allies from those who would otherwise be passive and unwary. They lead the party in its civic program, put vigor into its platforms and occasionally kick over the traces in a revolt that has real power because they are all straight Republicans. In pressing for progress they are sure of a better reception from the political machine than any non-partisan group.

Richard S. Childs.

"EQUITY" IS CONSOLIDATED WITH THIS MAGAZINE

REMARKS BY DR. TAYLOR TO "EQUITY" READERS

THE disappearance of *Equity* as a separate institution by its amalgamation with this magazine calls for a few remarks. Kindly pardon the unavoidable use of the pronoun "I."

I

Equity came into existence in this way: At the close of the exciting presidential campaign of 1896 I did not feel that the money question was settled. I would have felt the same if Mr. Bryan had been elected. I felt that there was urgent need of more fundamental study of that and other public questions. I planned a series of monographs to be called Equity Series. In preparing them I had the valuable assistance of Prof. Frank Parsons[1] and others.

The first of these was "Rational Money," in which the multiple standard for currency was advocated. Then came "The City for the People,"[2] "The Land Question from Various Points of View," "The Telegraph Monopoly," "The Organization and Control of Industrial Corporations," "The Elements of Taxation," "The Story of New Zealand," "The Railways, the Trusts and the People,"[3] etc. It is well known that such undertakings never pay their own way, and that they also involve a great deal of hard work.

After some years of this kind of work I became impressed with the fact that a great deal more attention was being given by students and publicists to economic questions than to the methods and processes of government; and I became convinced that the placing of improved methods into constitutions and charters is important in the highest degree.

II

In the early '90's I was associated with Mr. Eltweed Pomeroy[4] and others in the promotion of what we then called "Direct Legislation." I finally became convinced that the installation of the instruments of democracy, the initiative, referendum and recall, into state constitutions and municipal charters was the most important thing in my knowledge. I therefore deliberately determined to make the promotion of this form of fundamental democracy the chief object of my life.

The second chapter of "The City for the People," a long one, 132 pages, was devoted to "Direct Legislation." It was written in Prof. Parson's happiest and most convincing style. I had this chapter reprinted as a sepa-

[1] Since unfortunately deceased.

[2] Perhaps the most successful of the series—a book of nearly 600 pages, the price of which was only 50 cents, paper cover; $1 in cloth. Now unfortunately out of print, though 7,000 copies were printed.

[3] All here mentioned are still available except "The City for the People." All in paper covers only; 25 cents each, the Railway book being in two parts, 25 cents each; with the exception of the "Story of New Zealand" which is a large cloth bound book, price $3. C. F. Taylor, 1520 Chestnut street, Philadelphia.

[4] Then of Newark, N. J.; now of Donna, Tex.

rate monograph and used it extensively for propaganda purposes. It was easily the best work on the subject at that time, and in spite of reprintings all the copies have disappeared long ago. This became one of the books of Equity Series. I then determined to continue the publication as a quarterly magazine devoted to fundamental democracy. But a quarterly magazine cannot well be called a "series"; so that word was dropped from the title, leaving *Equity* as the name of the magazine.

I discontinued and discouraged the use of the expression "direct legislation." Our opponents found it easy to charge that we believed in legislating directly, thus supplanting representative government. We believe that legislation should be done by legislative bodies; but we also believe that the acts of such representative bodies should be subject to control by the referendum upon demand of a reasonable number of the represented voters, and that the voters should reserve the right to initiate legislation independent of the legislative body. Voters do not elect legislators for the purpose of surrendering their rights to these elected representatives. Voters elect representatives to perform certain functions, for which they are supposed to be specially qualified by integrity and superior knowledge and ability. When their acts show that they do not possess these qualities, why should the voters be bound? Why should the voters not have a right, in a specified orderly and legal way, to revise the acts of their agents, and also to do for themselves what their agents fail to do? And if the voters should find that they have elected an unfaithful or incompetent executive or administrative officer, should they not have the right, in a specified orderly and legal way, to recall him from office upon such discovery?

If anything is "fundamental" in our political life, the above certainly is. It would seem that it would appeal to every fair mind and meet ready adoption. On the contrary it has met crafty opposition; but by dint of battle it has made substantial progress, as we shall see. I cannot here attempt to tell the story of the deeds and personal sacrifices of the many workers for this fundamental democracy in many parts of this great country. To mention any would be an injustice to all the rest. My heart has often filled with admiration for and gratitude to them.

The results of all these years of propaganda are: The state-wide initiative and referendum are in the constitutions of 19 states; the state-wide referendum is in the constitutions of 2 additional states; the state-wide recall is in the constitutions of 9 states; 22 other states have general or special laws providing for the municipal use of one or more of these instruments of democratic control. This leaves only four states (Vermont, Rhode Island, Delaware and Indiana) that have thus far given no recognition to them.

The battle for fundamental democracy goes bravely on. In the summer of 1917 it was concentrated in Massachusetts, where the constitutional convention in Boston discussed the initiative and referendum amendment (with the exception of a few days given to other subjects) for a period of sixteen weeks (from August 7 to November 28)! This was one of the most notable and prolonged political debates that ever occurred in the history of this country. A report of this debate has been published by authority of the convention, and it makes a volume of over one thousand pages! This debate, followed by the victory for the

amendment in the convention, and its adoption at the polls in November, 1918, may be said to have settled this question as far as debate and subsequent voting in the light of the ablest argument on both sides can settle a proposition.

The further significant fact that the instruments of democratic control have been in the model charter of the National Municipal League for some years suggests to me the question, has not the battle been won? The momentum cannot be stopped. The propaganda period has passed. It now only remains to keep these instruments to the front as among the accepted improvements in the process of self government. This the National Municipal League and its splendid journal are now doing and expect to continue to a greater extent than formerly. So the continued existence of *Equity* for this purpose is no longer necessary.

III

The meteoric rise of the commission plan of municipal government showed us all a new thing: the importance of improving our plans of organization. The commission plan was a vast improvement over the old plan; adding the initiative, referendum and recall to the commission plan was another vast improvement; and the "manager" modification of the commission plan was another great improvement. These improvements also shortened and simplified the ballot.

Democracy (that much abused word) should be given a broader meaning than we have given to it in the past. It should mean, and let us say that it does mean, the achievement, or all the means to achieve, just and efficient government by the governed.

According to this definition the plan of organization is really the first step in achieving democracy. And while representative bodies should be truly representative of the different groups of voters in proportion to their size, proportional representation is essential to democracy. But always the voters should have the right of final control of legislation by means of the initiative and referendum, and control of officers by means of the recall. The ideal is that legislators should always represent their constituents so truly that the voters would never have occasion to take direct action; and that other officers should do their work so well that the voters would never have occasion to use the recall. But these are primary rights that should be in every municipal charter, every state constitution, and finally, in some safe and workable form, in our national Constitution.

I have devoted much space in *Equity* to the improvements in municipal government resulting from the changes in plan of organization above noted. And I have given much attention to the importance of somewhat similar changes in plan of organization for state government. Indeed, I have made this a major subject in many issues of *Equity* for some years past, and I intended to make it my chief interest until the reorganization of state government (one house legislatures, responsible executive, short ballot, etc.) had gotten a good start. But the National Municipal League expects to take up the matter of state government and make its journal an aggressive organ for a much broader program than municipal government, striking evidence of which we have seen in recent numbers. Then why should not *Equity* combine its efforts with those of the broadened League journal? Indeed, there is every reason why this should be done.

IV

I have been a modest member of the League for many years. I have felt it my duty to work hard in my own way for fundamentals which made a much stronger appeal to me than to the League. The facts and reasons given above make it plain that there is no longer occasion for separation of effort, and I am very glad to discontinue my separate efforts and co-operate to the extent of my ability for the continued promotion of fundamental democracy and the larger program of the League and its journal.

I hope that the broadened League journal will, sooner or later, cast an eye toward our national government, and note the need of the presidential item veto, an executive budget,[1] etc. Doubtless the improvements in processes of government being made in the smaller political units will finally find their way up to the national unit. Already there is a demand in influential quarters for submission of the League of Nations, or the entire treaty, to a national referendum next year. If that should be done, it will be a striking demonstration of an enlarged use of the referendum.

A word regarding the international field of government. When the war began in 1914, I was in Sweden, and was held there for several weeks awaiting opportunity to return home. There, without reference books, I wrote a proposed international constitution, the first that I have ever known to be actually put on paper, though there have been plenty of them since. I published this constitution in October, 1914, *Equity*, and since then I have given large attention in *Equity* to international organization. This portion of *Equity* will have to be sacrificed, for I cannot expect even the broadened National Municipal League journal to take it up. But there are other publications in this new and rapidly growing field, and the treaty including the League of Nations covenant has been signed.

But I must have a few parting words with *Equity* readers on this subject. My editorial, "Wilson and the League," beginning on page 55 of last *Equity* (April) has been both praised and criticised more than any other from my pen for a very long time. I wish to make it very plain that my criticism was confined only to President Wilson's choice of peace delegates. Not that the personnel was objectionable, but ignoring the senate invited its opposition; and the selection of more representative men would have inclined the sentiment of the entire country more favorably to the League of Nations. Mr. Wilson was only guilty of bad politics. His own services in Paris have been of inestimable worth.

As to the League covenant, I think it is the charter of future peace and expanded international life. We in this country who know how we had to climb through our continental congress and the articles of confederation up to our present Constitution, which has been amended so many times, in order to get our present interstate government,—we who know all this so well ought to know that this covenant is a good start toward an international organization which will be able to manage international affairs without war, and immeasurably better than they have been managed in the past. It would be an incalculable calamity if this opportunity for improved world conditions should be rejected.

[1] The July REVIEW makes a start in this respect, by admitting an excellent article on the national budget (beginning on page 360), with editorial explanation of the break in precedent on pages 335–6.

As to the treaty itself, I indorse it. I cannot agree with those in this country, England and France who criticise it. I do not think it is too hard on Germany. The Peace Conference had at its command competent talent to assess Germany's ability to pay. President Wilson says that Germany can fulfill the terms of the treaty, and he has been in excellent position to know. If Germany can fulfill them, the terms cannot be unjust, for Germany owes far more than she can ever pay.

A word about article x of the League covenant, that is held up as such a terrible thing by the hold-backs in the senate and elsewhere. The first thing to do with article x is to read it; which perhaps 99 per cent of those who have been led to think it such a dreadful thing have not done. It is brief, simple and direct. Simply this:

ARTICLE X

The members of the league undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the league. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression, the council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

Could any league, confederation or federation do less for its members? Our articles of confederation touched this subject in several places; for example, in article iii: "binding themselves to assist each other, against all force offered to or attacks made upon them, or any of them," etc. Our constitution has it in article iv, section 4: "and shall protect each of them against invasion"; etc. The constitution of the league of German states constituting, or which did constitute, the German Empire has it in the preamble thus: "an eternal alliance for the protection of the territory of the confederation," etc. The Swiss constitution, article 5, says: "The confederation guarantees to the cantons their territory," etc. What would the League of Nations be without article x?

This does not mean that all present boundaries are irrevocably fixed for all time. It means that they shall not be changed by "external aggression." And when so guaranteed by the twenty-one signatories to the covenant, what "outsider" is there left in the world that would have the temerity to trespass on territory thus protected? The claim of the opponents that this article will breed war is—shall I say it?—ridiculous. It must be plain to anyone who can think that this article tends strongly to the prevention of war.

I would like to write many pages on the great international issue that is now before the world, but I must not trespass further on the space of a magazine which does not touch this field. This is just a little last word on this subject to readers of *Equity*.

This magazine will be sent in generous proportion to readers of *Equity* whose subscriptions have been paid in advance of this date.

Adieu!

CHARLES FREMONT TAYLOR.

ELECTRIC VOTING IN THE WISCONSIN LEGISLATURE

BY EULOGIO B. RODRIGUEZ

Mr. Rodriguez is one of four graduates of the University of the Philippines who recently were sent to this country for training in legislative and municipal reference library work. :: :: :: :: ::

THIS electric voting machine is a time-saving device invented by Bornett L. Bobroff of the Universal Indicator Company of Milwaukee, an "instantaneous, automatic electrical system of recording votes, to eliminate the long, tedious, and time-consuming roll calls necessary" in any legislative body. It has now been in use for two sessions in the assembly of Wisconsin.

The system is practical, simple, efficient, accurate, easily understood. Each member of the assembly, sitting at his desk, may instantly record his vote "aye" or "no" upon any question submitted to the assembly. A bulletin board, where the names of the members of the assembly are alphabetically arranged, is placed at the east gallery of the session hall, with red, blue, and white signal lights opposite these names. This board, by means of an electric device, is connected with press buttons at the desk of every legislator. When voting or roll call is announced by the speaker, the chief clerk turns on the switch at his desk making the system ready for use. Then the members first unlock their own voting boxes, and by pressing the button, one for "aye," two for "no," and three for "present," cause the signal lights on the bulletin board to indicate instantaneously the corresponding color: "red" for aye, "blue" for no, and "white" for those who vote present. Thus at a glance, the audience and every member knows exactly just how every member casts his vote. Without reference to the board, each member can tell how his vote is recorded by looking at the little indicator window in the box at his desk where appears the letter Y, or N, or P, for "yes," "no," or "present." After allowing the time necessary for voting, the speaker declares "the roll call is closed." Then the chief clerk locks the device at his desk, which closes the vote, and the total number of "ayes" and "noes" are automatically shown and recorded at his and the speaker's desk by two indicators. Then the speaker announces the result of the vote. Every member can make any number of changes until the vote is closed by simply clearing his vote and recording anew as he may desire.

Immediately behind the bulletin board in the gallery, a permanent photographic record of the names of the members with their respective votes Y or N or P is made, and the record is later inserted in the proceedings of the legislature.

This system prevents the mistakes or errors resulting in the vocal roll call due to faulty hearings of responses of the legislators. It avoids the mistakes in transcribing and adding the votes. No one can entertain any doubt as to

the accuracy of the total votes cast on each side. It is as accurate as an adding machine. The chief clerk is the only one who controls this machine.

VALUE AS TIME-SAVER

According to my own observation it takes from 20 to 45 seconds to permanently record and count the votes.

This automatic system of recording of votes saves 99½ per cent of the time previously consumed in roll calls. Speaker Clark says on this subject that in a long session of congress it requires two months, or it consumes this much time, in the mere performance of calling the roll. To call the names, and check the oral responses of each one of the 435 members of the house of representatives, consumes an average of 45 minutes, and more time is wasted whenever there is filibustering in the house, while in the Wisconsin assembly, having 100 members, it takes only from 20 to 45 seconds. It will mean a saving of 60 days every year to the United States congress if this automatic voting machine is used —a saving of heat, light, telephone, telegraph bills, as well as lessening the expenses of labor and service necessary when congress is in session.

In a statement given by one of the Illinois legislators while here observing the session, he said, "It takes you only two hours to do what we do in three days."

This automatic voting machine is a new device and Wisconsin has the honor of being the first in the world to use this system.

EXPERT COMMENT ON THE GOOD NATIONAL BUDGET BILL

In our July issue we published Representative Good's budget bill with an explanation by W. F. Willoughby of the Bureau of Government Research. Following are comments thereon by technical authorities. :: :: :: :: :: :: :: :: ::

I

BY R. E. MILES

Director, Ohio Institute for Public Efficiency

THAT the Good budget bill (H. R. 1201) will, if passed, lead to an improvement in the financial methods of the federal government will be questioned by few, if any, students of the subject. I assume, however, that reviews are requested rather on the question whether the bill is the best possible one under present conditions.

I have nothing but favorable comment on the greater part of the bill. Its placing of responsibility on the President for presenting to congress comprehensive recommendations as to revenue and expenditures, and providing him with a staff agency with which to meet that responsibility, cannot but prove a distinct advance.

With what Dr. Willoughby calls the third phase of the budget, however, it seems to me that the Good bill is not in accord either with proper theory or with Dr. Willoughby's own previous statements. The bill undertakes to establish an accounting department which shall be as independent as possible of both the executive and legislative branches, particularly of the former. The functions of this department are indicated as including the settlement of all claims and accounts (amendment of R. S. section 236).

Under American constitutional law, both state and federal, theory would seem to me to require the view tha while it is a legislative function to authorize the imposition of taxes and other means of raising public revenues, and to authorize their expenditure, the actual collection of authorized revenues, the custody of public money, and the disbursement of these funds as authorized, belong to the executive branch. This view is apparently quite in harmony with Dr. Willoughby's previous statements in the book of which he is the principal author, "The System of Financial Administration of Great Britain." Here he declares that proper budgetary practice requires:

"The organization and operation *by the executive* of a machinery and procedure for the collection of revenue and for the sale of credit obligations." (Page 2.)

"The organization and operation *by the executive* of an administrative machinery and the adoption of rules for procedure to govern the expenditure of the sums placed at its disposition, which machinery and procedure shall provide for:

"The examination and adjudication of all claims against the government and certification for payment of those found to be valid;

"The organization and operation of a system through which the sums so

found to be due will actually be disbursed." (Page 4.)

The Good bill, however, through its amendment of R. S. section 236 noted above, seems to follow the British practice in regarding the public funds as being in the custody of the legislature, whose representative must, therefore, scrutinize all claims before payment. As this is not consistent with American theory, it would seem that the accounting department, with the comptroller-general at its head, as outlined in the bill, should be definitely an *executive* department under the control of the President.

As Dr. Willoughby points out in his book, however, it is necessary to provide for an audit of both revenue and asset, liability, and expenditure accounts by an officer *independent of the executive*. This audit should, in my opinion, be made by an auditor-general, entirely dissociated from the comptroller-general, appointed by congress, with full powers of investigation and required to report to congress and to co-operate with its committees. He should have no administrative function whatever, either in the collection, custody, or disbursement of funds. His function should be solely that of the independent auditor. His audit may be current, if desired.

By such an organization, once certain authorizations have been granted by the legislative body, there is no division of responsibility as to the administration. On the other hand, there is a double audit provided, which appears to be lacking under the organization proposed in the bill.

The most logical plan, if it could be brought about, would seem to me to be as follows:

1. Substitution of a secretary of finance for the secretary of the treasury as a member of the President's cabinet.

2. Appointment by the secretary of finance of a comptroller-general as head of the accounting bureau.

3. Appointment by the secretary of finance of a treasurer-general who would be charged with the custody of all public money.

Both of the last appointments should be in the classified civil service without confirmation by the senate. They should be expected to hold their positions without regard to change of administration affecting the secretary of finance.

4. Appointment by congress of an auditor general responsible to it, through a committee, if desired, similar to that proposed on receipts and expenditures.

5. Establishment of a bureau of the budget, as a staff agency of the President, as contemplated by the Good bill.

It is impossible in this review to discuss these suggestions in detail, but the general plan is perhaps sufficiently indicated.

II

BY LENT D. UPSON

Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research

THE friends of budget legislation for the United States, in Congress and out, can probably be induced to support the bill introduced by Mr. Good, even with its shortcomings.

The group that believes in a so-called "executive budget" with legislative freedom curtailed as in Maryland, and in the proposed constitutional amendment for Ohio, will apparently concede

that the Good proposal is all that can be materialized.

On the other hand, the proposed bill can also be accepted as a good beginning by those who believe that the executive should prepare a financial program upon which he is willing to stand before the country, leaving the legislature to discuss and modify any serious omissions or inadequate support.

Both political parties in their most recent platforms are pledged to budget reform. Therefore the President has been frequently urged not to wait for legislative action, but to send to congress through the treasury department correlated estimates of the departmental needs. In such manner General Lord correlated the large and diverse estimates of the War department before submitting them to congress.

This correlation of estimates, correcting one defect of our appropriating system, is practically all the present bill proposes,—and is a highly desirable step.

To be sure, some provision is made for inspection of expenditures by congress through a comptroller-general, logically responsible to the legislature, but there should be small political opposition to that innovation.

There then remains the whole treatment of the estimates by congress, —a matter not dealt with in the proposed bill. In the senate and the house there are nearly twenty committees considering and reporting out appropriation bills independently of one another. More than ten other committees report out measures requiring that appropriations be reported by other committees.

This is a second and more fundamental defect of our present system,— and the one most difficult to change. It is hardly conceivable that twenty-nine congressional committees will willingly surrender prerogatives having to do with the distribution of public funds. It is reasonable to believe that such a change will come only after emphatic pressure has been exerted back in the districts.

In the mean time there should be no confusion in the public mind. Valuable as the proposed legislation is, it will be bought at a stiff price and ten years of propaganda work will be undone if the public erroneously believes that this bill forthwith accomplishes all ends!

III

BY THOMAS R. LILL, C.P.A.

Late Chief Accountant and Acting Director of President Carranza's Financial and Administrative Reorganization Commission

THE Good bill is one of a number now pending in congress which seek to modify the existing budgetary practice of our government. The essence of the bill is that it requires the executive department of the government to submit to congress in one complete document a budget consisting of an estimate of the cost of operating the various departments of the government for the next fiscal year, together with an estimate of the revenues to be received.

In addition to providing for a budget, the bill reorganizes the accounting machinery of the government so that congress may have correct information as to whether the funds voted by it

have been expended for the purposes authorized.

Opinion is unanimous that these two reforms are necessary for the better administration of our government, but there is a considerable difference of opinion regarding who should prepare the budget, the form in which it should be stated, who should submit it to congress, and how it should be handled in congress.

The Good bill "requests" the President to transmit a budget to congress and requires departmental estimates to be submitted to him instead of to the secretary of the treasury as is now the custom. A bureau of the budget is created in the office of the President to assist him in the work of preparing and revising the budget.

It is said that the purpose of this move is to place the responsibility where it belongs, and to eliminate friction between departmental heads which will occur if one cabinet officer revises the estimates of another.

"Fixing the responsibility where it belongs" is a pleasant phrase. As a matter of fact the responsibility has always been the President's. When the secretary of the treasury submits the book of estimates, the President who appointed him is responsible. Has the President no responsibility in connection with the acts of Postmaster General Burleson for instance?

In practice, the President, since 1908, has called his cabinet together to consider departmental estimates before they were forwarded to the secretary of the treasury.

The writer is of the opinion that the secretary of the treasury should prepare the budget. He is, or should be, the financial expert of the government, and, because of the nature of his duties, possesses the fullest information.

REVISION OF ESTIMATES

The language of section 4 of the Good bill indicates that it is to be the duty of the President to revise the departmental estimates before they are submitted to congress.

I can see no reason why the secretary of the treasury should not revise departmental estimates to the extent of indicating the amount which he thinks should be allowed by congress. If it is once established that it is his duty to do this for the President, departmental heads will not strongly object. It works well in practice, since a department head will usually take up with the secretary of the treasury proposed increases in existing services or amounts needed for new activities. If he cannot get the secretary of the treasury to agree to his program he can appeal to the President.

In any event, the original departmental estimates should be presented to congress as a part of the budget. That is, the budget should show in columnar form the following:

1. Amount requested by the department.
2. Amount recommended by the executive.
3. Amount granted by congress.

To act intelligently, a legislator must know what the operating head is planning to do. He should know whether the amount recommended by the executive is more or less than the amount asked for by the department head.

ALTERNATIVE BUDGET

The authorization granted to the President to submit an alternative budget is hardly necessary. He is already possessed of constitutional authority to do this if he so desires.

BUREAU OF THE BUDGET

If the duty of collecting and preparing the budget is placed upon the President, he will need such an organization. Whether it should have the power of investigation is a matter that should be considered in connection with the establishment of the office of comptroller-general, which must, to be effective, have such power.

Should two new agencies be established with the right to investigate government departments? The writer has lately completed the organization of the office of comptroller-general in Mexico, and whenever information was desired by the President or congress regarding the needs of a department, the information was easily obtained through the comptroller.

COMPTROLLER-GENERAL

This measure is one of the most important ever proposed in our government, and one of the most necessary. It might well be made the subject of a separate bill.

Instead of endowing the comptroller with the indefinite powers and duties now conferred or imposed by general and special provisions of law, it may be well to consider whether existing laws should not be studied, codified and embodied in a new law.

IV

BY FREDERICK P. GRUENBERG

Director, Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia

THE Good budget bill seems to me to go as far in the direction of a model budget system for the United States government as could well be gotten through congress at this time. Of the various details and provisions of this bill, the following ones seem to be particularly commendable: Provision for an executive budget without placing restrictions on the actions of congress; providing the President with a staff, the bureau of the budget, whose main function is to assist him in preparing the budget; provision that until congress sets up other forms and details for the submission of the estimates that the President's budget shall be framed in accordance with the forms and details called for by the present laws; provision that in addition to this budget, and as a possible forerunner of the form and content of the budget for which congress will provide, the President may submit what is termed an "alternative budget," framed in accordance with his views as to what the budget should be; provision for an accounting department, absolutely independent of all other departments of the executive branch of the government, whose main functions are to supervise and control action following financial legislation by congress and to make reports direct to congress; provision that unless requested by either house of congress no officer of the executive branch of the government except the President shall submit to congress any estimate or request for an appropriation or any recommendation as to how the revenue needs of the government should be met; provision that the President may submit special and additional estimates whenever in his judgment congress should make appropriations therefor; provision for obtaining relevant information and making special investigations in connection with the budget or the government's finances; aboli-

tion of the several offices whose powers and duties have been transferred to the accounting department; provision that all employes in the accounting department and in the bureau of the budget shall be appointed and hold their positions under the civil service laws; the creation of the permanent joint committee on receipts and expenditures of the government, with its powers and rights regarding investigations as to the finances of the government.

As Mr. Willoughby has pointed out, this bill necessarily has avoided dealing with the numerous questions concerning action on the budget by congress. Recognizing that conditions are not favorable to the passage of a bill setting up either a model budget procedure or a thoroughly inclusive one, and realizing the desirability of an initial budget system for the government, the bill is worthy of support by all citizens, and particularly by all who are acquainted with the crying need of marked improvement in the finances of the government.

V

BY H. M. WAITE
Ex-City-Manager, Dayton, Ohio

ANYONE who has handled budgets would, I think, fear that this bill lacks detail. However, after reading Dr. Willoughby's article, there is a hesitation in making any criticisms of the Good bill as it must be realized that it is difficult at this time to draft any bill that will meet all the varying conditions and obstacles.

Therefore, the principal and first objects to be obtained are, first, the initiation of the budget principle, and, second, proper control of the budget, and I feel, under the circumstances, that these have been accomplished in the Good bill.

It is apparent that the object at this time should be to get a national budget started and then let its growth follow the natural lines, which, of course, will follow with the advent of the budget system. It will be a big mistake to try and load any bill at this time with details, as with the advent of the budget the details will naturally take care of themselves.

There is, however, one principle which it seems to me is not covered. The formation of a final budget is the natural result of the trimming of original estimates of expenditure to meet the final estimates of revenue. The departmental estimates are made out by the departments. The apportioning of the final allotments to the departments is an executive function. When the final allotments to the departments have been made by the executives, the responsibility of classification of such allotments by the departments should be a departmental function, thereby making the responsibility a departmental one.

THE ST. LOUIS RECALL EFFORT AND ITS AFTERMATH

BY LOUIS F. BUDENZ

Secretary, Civic League of St. Louis

St. Louis has just gone through a valuable municipal experience in the effort to recall Mayor Henry W. Kiel for his mill tax-franchise deal with the United railways company. It furnishes an interesting sequel to the developments in the street railway situation outlined by the same author in the "National Municipal Review" for November, 1918.

I

THE defeat of the proposed compromise traction ordinances in November, because of the public indignation at the company's burglary of the referendum petitions, deterred neither the company nor the city administration from another attempt to impose a similar franchise settlement on the people. In order to prevent the question from going to a referendum and facing its previous fate, a new tactic was hit upon. On January 13, the mayor announced to an unexpectant public, through the newspapers, that the city counselor and himself, together with the board of estimate and apportionment, had secretly entered into an agreement with the company, by which the Jefferson avenue franchise suit would no longer be contested and by which the accrued mill tax would be paid in ten annual installments. The mayor, in his statement, declared that this step had been taken in order to settle the controversy between the city and the company, to remove the cloud from the company's franchises, and to prevent a receivership. A stipulation was added to the agreement, in regard to the Jefferson avenue franchise case, that all other underlying franchises of the company would be extended.

It was strikingly evident that this deal was made solely in the interest of the company. By it all that the company had wished from the defeated compromise ordinances was granted. The benefit of some of the advantageous conditions laid down in the city charter for future franchise grants, and which necessarily had to be incorporated in the compromise ordinances, was omitted. The payment of the mill tax, of which the city was supposed to be assured, was already a finally adjudicated matter. This payment, as the president of the company immediately declared in a public statement, would be made not by the United railways company but in reality by the people in increased fares, which were the only additional surplus revenue to which the company could look under its waterlogged condition. The arrangement itself prevented this latter condition from being dealt with, in attempting to prevent a successful receivership suit. In addition, were a legal appeal to the supreme court to fail—as subsequently proved the case—no other remedy was afforded the citizens except the recall, under which 20 per cent of the registered voters would be required, so distributed as to equal 20 per cent of the voters in each of two thirds of the wards, whereas under the referendum—which would

have been invoked had the board of aldermen passed on the measure—only 7 per cent of the registered voters was required (obtained within 60 days) without any distribution provision.

The United railways committee of the civic league, composed of ten well-known men from various business and professional occupations, which had been working carefully on the company's valuation and had found that a fair value could not be much over $40,000,000, made a careful report of the deal, showing its unfairness and proposing legal steps in an appeal to the state supreme court and political steps in the recall of the mayor, the latter in order that a new mayor might be inducted into office who would seek to make the deal impracticable. The committee also pointed out that no settlement of the street railway situation would settle the matter, until the company went through a receivership and had the water eliminated from its bonds and stock and its gross over-capitalization thereby reduced.

II

As a result of this report, the citizens' referendum league began a movement for the recall of the mayor. In an agreement with that body, the civic league pledged itself to financially aid this recall movement and to participate actively on its part in the legal proceedings before the state supreme court—to have the Jefferson avenue franchise end of the settlement set aside. The referendum league, in its work of obtaining signatures to the recall petition, relied entirely on volunteer canvassers, and it was soon found that with the difficult charter provisions which the leagues were facing, it would take an impossibly long time to secure the necessary signatures under this system. Registered voters could be seen, as a rule, only in the evenings and on Saturday afternoons and on Sundays. Workingmen could give but little continuous time to this visitation, and business men less. Accordingly, it was decided that the civic league would actively take up the recall work also, employing paid canvassers for that purpose, the necessary number of names to be obtained if possible by February 18, which under the charter provisions allowed the question to be submitted to the people at the general aldermanic election on April 1. When this decision was reached, only five days remained in which to get over thirty thousand names. In those five days the leagues succeeded in obtaining a total of 41,665 names, submitted to the board of election commissioners on midnight of the required date.

It became immediately evident that three out of four of the election commissioners were hostile to the recall movement. The board is supposedly bi-partisan, but one of the Democratic members, president of the building trades council and recipient of many favors from the local political machine, voted with the two Republican members for an unfair count of the names submitted. It was stipulated, for example, that the special clerks hired for checking should be only such as had not signed the recall petition. Also the rule was established that these clerks, hired at the rate of $4 per day, should pass upon the genuineness of the signatures on the petitions. A deadlock held the board up for several days because of some of the arbitrary rules proposed. When the count was completed, the board certified that but 21,257 names were valid, the rest being rejected, either for non-registration, illegibility, duplication, triplication, or dissimilar handwriting.

The leagues immediately began a

new drive for signatures in the twenty days allowed them by the charter for filing a supplementary petition. This campaign was organized in a thorough manner, teams being assigned to certain wards and precincts, taken each evening in automobiles to the territory to which they were assigned, and furnished the names of the registered voters whom they were to visit. In order to make certain of the genuineness of their work special men were assigned to visit the petitioners a second time and discover if they had really signed the petition. The names were also checked in the civic league office. Over twenty-one thousand names were thus secured.

Despite the care which had been exercised in this second campaign, the board of election commissioners again proceeded to count out the names, finally declaring that only 10,971 were genuine, which with the previous number of names certified made only 1,228 short of the number required. Although the leagues had ascertained that they had received the necessary 20 per cent in at least 21 wards, when only 19 were required, the board of election commissioners declared that 16 wards only had been secured. Chairman Arnold, the only member of the board who evidenced any fair attitude, issued a statement condemning the methods used and refused to certify the findings. On his own initiative, he instituted a re-check of the names and found that of 600 names rejected for non-registration at least 20 per cent were registered. The majority of the board at that point compelled him to stop re-checking. As another evidence of the majority attitude, it was contended that no matter how many names the petitioners secured no recall could be held because technically a recall was not an "election" and the state statutes provided for no appeal to the people except through an election. The attorney-general was called upon for an opinion by the board, but when he reached St. Louis some of the majority members declared that they would not abide by his opinion if it was against their views, and he accordingly refused to render an opinion which would not be respected.

III

During the progress of the recall campaign, many business and professional men called upon Flint Garrison, of the executive board of the civic league and author of the United railways report of that body, to accept the nomination of the Democratic party for president of the board of aldermen. This was based on the idea that if the mayor were recalled the president of the board would be his successor, and the incumbent at that time had not only officially been a party to the mayor's deal but had subsequently approved and disapproved it in such a way that there was much doubt as to how he stood on the question. The Democratic city central committee also unanimously requested Mr. Garrison to run. He consented to do this, on condition that the United railways company and machine politics would be made the issue of the campaign, and that the Democrats would nominate candidates for the school board other than the incumbents whose terms were expiring and who had formed with other members of the board a seven-to-five combine for the spoils system in the schools. Mr. Garrison's conditions being accepted, he was nominated for the presidency of the aldermanic board.

In the April 1 election, despite the undoubted sentiment of the people against the United railways deal and

the fact that three out of the five newspapers in the city favored Mr. Garrison's candidacy, the city hall-utility combine was overwhelmingly victorious. This is due to the peculiar political situation which exists in St. Louis, and which showed itself during Joseph W. Folk's crusade against the reign of "boodle" when Colonel Ed. Butler's ticket was elected by an enormous majority in the midst of the disclosures of the universal sale of franchises and other public rights by himself and his henchmen. This condition is intensified to-day by the fact that the Democratic party has been rendered harmless as a minority party by the city charter. The concentration of power places 6,000 city employees under control of the Republican machine, and the election of aldermen at large (with the heavy German-American and Negro vote) makes it practically impossible for the Democrats to secure any offices. Many of those in control of the minority party, therefore, find it to their interest rather to assist the Republicans to victory and to be lesser parasites of the same combine which dictates to the dominating party machine. St. Louis has for years been under the thumb of this combine, which is controlling St. Louis primarily for New York interests. It includes the largest financial institutions of the city, the United railways company, Terminal railroad association, and other like corporations, and has been popularly known as the "Big Cinch." For years the business men of St. Louis have suffered from an arbitrary freight rate on coal imposed by the Terminal railroad association, and have quietly submitted until recently. The development of the Mississippi river has been impeded because of the grip of the railroads on the city. No candidate has been able to succeed in securing the office of mayor who has not had the endorsement of these interests, even Mayor Rolla Wells being supported by them in order that the city would have an efficient administration during the World's fair.

Mr. Wells' administration is generally regarded as the most efficient and independent that St. Louis has had.

IV

The civic league had at first planned to carry the question of the recall count to the state supreme court, but after consideration decided not to do so. The expense of such an appeal would be great, in addition to the $7,000 already expended by the league in the campaign for signatures. Were a mandamus granted, the charter provisions are so loosely drawn that there would be no chance of success whatsoever, no provisions being made for watchers, contests, etc. St. Louis, the league publicly stated, in reality has no recall provision, the so-called recall provision in the charter being a hoax. The ward distribution requirement, for example, is farcically absurd and impossible to meet except by the heroic methods resorted to in this case. This had been previously pointed to by Dr. A. R. Hatton of Cleveland, who had visited the city during the recall agitation. The appeal to the state supreme court on the Jefferson avenue franchise case had previously been over-ruled by that tribunal without a hearing.

V

In the meantime, the receivership proceedings came up before the federal court. When the applicants had established the bankruptcy of the company, in order to prevent the imposition of a hostile receivership, the North American controlling inter-

ests initiated a petition of their own under which a friendly stockholder requested a receivership and the company confessed to the necessity for the same. The independent stockholders who had initiated the suit, however, petitioned to have the cases combined and their own suit to receive preference. This the federal judge granted, appointing Rolla Wells, former mayor of St. Louis, receiver, and Charles W. Bates, former city counselor and member of the civic league's first United railways committee, counsel. The results of the receivership cannot yet be ascertained. In as far as it is a fact, however, the contentions of the civic league have been rather quickly upheld, and it should prove a further step forward to final municipalization at a proper valuation. The hearings on the petition have also disclosed a gross waste of company funds. Hundreds of thousand of dollars have been paid out for the "use and benefit of the company," without further itemization. The special agent and legal departments have been a great drain. Suspicious power contracts with subsidiaries of the controlling company were revealed. The president of the company was implicated in the petition burglary and indicted, leading to his resignation and that of the superintendent of transportation, also under indictment. Under public pressure, the Board of Aldermen has pledged $10,000 to the circuit attorney, for a sweeping criminal investigation of the city hall and the utility.

As to the recall attempt itself, the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* thus editorially summarizes it: "The late effort under civic league auspices to send Mr. Kiel back to private life was worth all it cost and has had fruitful results. The 60,000 petitioners made up one of the most impressive movements of protest against official inadequacy in St. Louis history. Every single allegation put forth as the basis of the movement has been established as true. Charges as to the nature of the Kiel-United railways combine have been shown not only to be accurate, but to be moderately expressed by subsequent exposures of its intent and effect. United railway bankruptcy, which was only asserted at the time the recall was inaugurated, is now a fact. Those who favored the recall, and United railways men and city hall henchmen who opposed it, now stand on common ground in advocacy of the very objects the recall was designed to promote." The paper further asks: "If a pseudo recall device could bring about the chastened spirit and more wholesome atmosphere to be observed at the city hall, what might not be done under the genuine and workable recall device with which St. Louis must provide herself at the earliest possible date?"

PHILADELPHIA STIRRETH

BY FREDERICK P. GRUENBERG
Director, Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research

In June, Philadelphia friends of good government, by a prodigious effort, wrested from the legislature important simplification of local politics, notably the abolition of the two-house council of 145, and the substitution of a single-house council of 21. :: :: ::

ABSORPTION in what was transpiring at Versailles did not prevent Philadelphia from applying the self-criticism and constructive impulse of the times to its own local government.

Just as "reconstruction" is used as a shibboleth in every community to cover every needed (or other) program of economic or social action, so has "democracy" become the watchword of political action. In Philadelphia there had long been a feeling of discontent with the antiquated framework of municipal government, and two years ago a number of civic bodies attempted to secure from the legislature the enactment of some twenty measures designed to patch up the defects of the so-called city charter.

The enthusiasm of the legislature's response can readily be measured by the fact that all of the bills died in committee. A quickened sense of political responsibility, however, brought about the organization of a new movement for the legislative session just ended, and it is gratifying to be able to report that a genuine advance has been secured in the direction of more efficient and more democratic city government.

The Philadelphia situation prior to the new charter is by no means easy to comprehend, despite the fact that to the political scientists its organization chart and scheme of government would appear relatively simple—compared, for instance, with Chicago's. The complicating factors in Philadelphia's charter problems are historical and "political," *i.e.*, partisan.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The historical complications would offer no special difficulties had more Philadelphians been willing to recognize frankly that changed community conditions call for changed machinery—that tradition is of itself not a trustworthy guide to action. It is interesting to note that in this hitherto tradition-bound city there is less adherence to "things as they are" than was formerly the case. Perhaps the war explains the change. However, there still remained a large measure of fondness for the old, and this fondness had been consistently utilized by politicians to continue the status quo. To illustrate—when the present city was welded together out of the old city proper and diverse towns and villages, in 1854, compromises were deemed necessary in order to avert opposition from Germantown and other outlying districts. Accordingly, the citizens of Germantown continue to this day to elect their town clerk, and they and five other sections of the city also elect their poor district officials who levy separate poor taxes for the respective "townships," which condition, by the way, it seems the charter

revisionists dared not attempt to change.

Under the statute of 1854, known as the "consolidation act," the county government still continued. The city and county are physically coterminous and their finances as well as many other governmental features were partially unified in the consolidation act.

In 1873 Pennsylvania adopted a new constitution, and, in common with all other state constitutions of that period, a considerable amount of statutory matter was written into its new basic law. Among other things, that new constitution continued the practice of election by the people of a number of county officers, so that a Philadelphia voter at a municipal election is supposed to exercise his discretion in the choice of a long list of officers of widely varying functions and responsibilities.

The only important amendment to the "charter" of 1854 was the Bullitt bill of 1885 which was a great advance in the direction of simplified, responsible government. This bill drew its inspiration from the charter of the city of Brooklyn and its primary purpose was to emphasize the separation of the executive and legislative branches of government, and to concentrate power and responsibility in the mayor. Because of constitutional difficulties, the bill made no changes in the county government, nor did it disturb either the bicameral council or the six poor districts. The council continued to have select and common branches, and as the years went by the aggregate membership grew to the imposing number of 145—the largest municipal legislature in the United States. It is largely because of this obsolete and unrepresentative legislative body that the demand for charter revision became so insistent. Its character and workings will be discussed a little later.

The recent charter revision movement attempted very little to affect the powers and duties of the judiciary. Its emphasis was almost entirely on the legislative and executive branches. The local judges (aggregating 29 in the common pleas, orphans' and municipal courts, and 28 magistrates) are elected by the people. Under the existing arrangement the mayor, the heads of two city and nine "county" departments are also elected. There are a number of boards and officials chosen by the common pleas judges, and the heads of the remaining city departments are chosen by the mayor.

The public schools are not under the city government, but are under a board of public education, appointed by the common pleas judges, which board is empowered by law to levy taxes and to conduct the school system entirely independently of the city government. The school code of 1911 which created this independent status has, on the whole, worked well, but there are many demands for improvements in the school management. These demands found expression in movements independent of that for charter revision, so the details will not be discussed here.

The legislative body, which had been unchanged in general form since 1796, was patterned after the usual parliamentary model of an upper and a lower house. The select council consists of one councilman from each of 48 wards, while the common council seats one from each ward for every 4,000 names on the list of assessed voters for that ward, except that each ward has at least one common councilman.

The old ward lines have undergone but few changes, despite the rapid shifting of population, with the result that one of the older wards has a select councilman and a common councilman to represent a population of five or six

thousand, while the largest ward has but one selectman and only five common councilmen for a population of not less than 100,000. The forty-eight wards present a wide variety of different populations between these extremes.

Naturally, the above-described permanent gerrymander was resented by every citizen who believes in equitable representation, and as there is no conceivable argument in favor of the existing system, it was doomed to eventual dissolution.

THE POLITICAL COMPLEX

The situation that for a long time prevented the consideration of the charter proposals strictly on their merits is the strife between the two wings of the Republican organization in Philadelphia. This strife has, to a somewhat lesser extent, spread to the state organization.

The local government is under the control of the branch of the organization led by State Senator Edwin H. Vare, opposed to which is the faction led by Pennsylvania's senior United States senator, Boies Penrose. The governor and the majority of the state legislature are generally believed to be friendlier to the Penrose faction.

In Philadelphia the latter group, being the "outs," have allied themselves with various groups of "independents" and "reformers" in attacking the Vare faction, the "ins." When the recent demand for charter revision arose, most of the Penrose adherents were found associated with their former enemies, the reformers. The Vare faction promptly proceeded to brand all the charter proposals as partisan in character and the Vare-controlled city councils passed a lengthy resolution lauding Philadelphia's perfect frame of government and pleading with the legislature and the governor not to disturb the beautiful symmetry of the venerable system.

In the meantime the self-constituted citizens' charter committee had begun to crystallize the existing sentiment in the city in favor of a better charter, and all the newspapers aided the cause. When this sentiment became discernible, the Vare faction skilfully altered their tactics and declared that there was undoubted need for certain changes in the framework of the city's government, but that the charter committee's bills were unsatisfactory. Thereupon they introduced a measure described as one that would "take the police out of politics" and another ostensibly for the purpose of reforming the city's financing. A careful perusal of each of these measures disclosed nothing but perfect red herrings. As a means of confusing the legislature and as a means of complicating the problem of charter revision these measures were well conceived, but no impartial critic could find in them any contribution to the strengthening or bettering of the municipal machinery.

While the proposals of the charter committee were declared, by their Vare critics, to be "tarred with the Penrose stick," the measures were really by no means partisan in character and were drafted by students and specialists, after many weeks of study of the needs, and of the constitutional and other technical aspects. In only one important respect, in the opinion of the writer, did the charter committee succumb to the temptation of nursing the Penrose support. That one matter was in connection with the board of revision of taxes—the tax-assessing body of the city. That unit of the local government had been much criticised by various elements in the community, and many reasons for its reorganization

are repeatedly urged, yet certain of the leaders in the charter committee carefully avoided this issue, admittedly lest they offend their political allies.

The merits or faults of the charter bill, it must be conceded, did not determine its passage nearly so much as did the political situation. The Penrosites and the handful of Democrats supported the independents and so got the bill through, but not until Governor Sproul and his attorney-general had dictated a number of important amendments—some as sops to the Vare followers, some of no significance at all, and some that they no doubt honestly believed to be improvements. The amended bill passed late in June, just before the adjournment, and it received the governor's signature on June 25. It had been introduced by Senator George Woodward (described as an independent, elected with Penrose support) on March 3, nearly four months of suspense, legislative inaction, lobbying, and machination thus intervening.

THE CHANGES PROPOSED, AND THOSE SECURED

The charter bill was a compromise measure, as are most legislative proposals of its character. It provided, however, an inclusive frame of government to the extent that the state constitution and our limited political education permit at this time. Because of limitations of space we shall not attempt to go into great detail regarding each proposal nor even as to each final amendment of the city's former charter, but shall confine our discussion to the more important of each of these groups.

The major change proposed was in the municipal legislative body. In lieu of the two large chambers, a single body, based on the existing eight state senatorial districts, was created with provision for a councilman for every 20,000 assessed voters. Proposals to secure some representation at large, as well as a splendid effort to introduce some rational system of proportional representation, were defeated in the charter committee. After violent debate and various attempted amendments in the legislature the council in the new charter is as originally proposed by the charter committee, giving us a council of 21 to begin with.

The powers of the mayor are somewhat modified in the new act. There are some structural improvements in the departments under his jurisdiction such as the separation of health and charities (now under one department) and the creation of a new department of welfare to cover the charity, corrections and recreational functions, but more especially to work along modern social lines. The efforts to shorten the ballot were restricted by constitutional provisions, but a step in this direction was taken in the proposals that the city's chief law officer, now elective, be appointed by the mayor, and that the position of receiver of taxes, a purely ornamental elective office, be abolished. As the act finally passed, the charter committee and the reactionaries divided honors—the city solicitor becomes appointive, but the status of the receiver of taxes remains unchanged.

The civil service and corrupt-practises laws, which were passed in the famous "penitential" legislative session of 1906, are somewhat strengthened and improved. In lieu of a civil service commission of three appointed by the mayor, a single commissioner, elected by a two-thirds vote of the council, was proposed by the charter committee. The committee was also desirous of extending the trial-board privilege, now accorded only to police-

men and firemen, to all civil servants, but in the course of the legislative amending the size of the commission was restored to three chosen by the council, however, instead of by the mayor. The proposal to extend the trial-board privilege to others than policemen and firemen was eliminated. Pernicious political activity of policemen and firemen is effectively checked and the too-wide choice of four eligibles for a single vacancy is reduced to two. In a supplementary bill an attempt was made by the revisionists to extend the merit system to "county" as well as to all "city" departments, but this bill never got out of the senate committee.

The charter bill set up fundamental reforms in the fiscal procedure of the city by requiring a mayoral budget without, however, restricting the freedom of the council in its action on it. This article of the charter required financing on a revenue and expense accounting basis instead of on a basis merely of cash receipts and cash disbursements as the existing law provided. The initiation by the mayor, and the untrammeled freedom of ultimate action by the council, survived the legislature, but the accounting reforms were ripped out because the governor's attorney-general insisted that they were "too technical."

The powers of the city controller are enlarged to give him jurisdiction over all the city's bookkeeping, thus making it possible to have a centralized accounting system in place of the numerous systems in the several departments and bureaus now existing in addition to that in the controller's office. A short article simplifying and improving the legal mechanism controlling municipal indebtedness follows the article on budget, and through some miracle this part of the charter bill came through unscathed.

Philadelphia is one of the last if not the sole remaining large city in the civilized world that has its street cleaning and waste removal done by private contract. In recent years there has been growing discontent with the inefficiency of these services and studies of the methods employed elsewhere revealed the fact that these functions are usually performed by the municipalities themselves. Accordingly, the new charter requires the city to do its own street cleaning and waste removal after December 31, 1920. In deference to the home rule principle, and with the thought of providing for some unforseeable situation, it is stipulated that work of this character may be done by contract if the council, by a majority vote, with the approval of the mayor, so decides. The original proposal of the charter committee was to make the exception only if three quarters of the council and the mayor consented to do this kind of work by contract, and around this point was waged the most hotly-contested fight in the charter campaign, the governor finally ordering "majority" substituted for "three quarters." The charter act also makes it possible for the city to enter into contracts for periods longer than one year, a right not allowed under the present statutes. By this means it is hoped to make it possible to secure genuine competition in bidding on municipal contracts, a result not obtainable under the one-year limit. The reason for the latter fact is that potential competitive bidders find it impossible to provide the necessary plant and other facilities for use in contracts that may last but one year.

Many of the provisions of the charter just made law by the governor's signature are either merely mentioned or entirely omitted from this very condensed sketch. An effort has been

made, however, to touch upon the essential features of the program and the final act and to make clear the main changes and the objects sought to be attained. By this new charter—but no less by the civic education that its advocates and opponents furnished—old Philadelphia has taken a giant stride forward into the ranks of progressive American municipalities.

THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE EXECUTIVE BUDGET IN THE STATE GOVERNMENTS

BY A. E. BUCK

New York Bureau of Municipal Research

Many persons will be agreeably surprised to learn that the legislation stage of the budget movement in state governments is near completion, so widely has the principle now been written into law. There remains the necessity of making public officers conform to its spirit. :: ::

Only within the last ten years has any recognition been given in this country to the importance of sound principles of budget making as a means of avoiding waste in public expenditures and of securing better service in public administration. In fact, the first thorough study of budgetary procedure to be made in this country was that produced in connection with an investigation of the appropriation methods of the national government by President Taft's commission on economy and efficiency, which was organized in 1911. As a result of the work of this commission Mr. Taft came out strongly for an executive budget and embodied his proposals in a message to congress on June 27, 1912. Although congress did not act favorably upon the President's recommendations, their effect was not lost. Almost immediately the discussion occasioned by them spread to the states, with the result that the term "budget system" found a prominent place in party platforms and became a vital issue in state politics. Several of the states whose finances were in a depleted condition were already feeling keenly the need of a uniform system of control over their revenues and expenditures—a system which would correlate the two and establish definite administrative responsibility. Consequently they at once seized upon the idea of a budget system and embodied a form of budgetary procedure in their law. Because of only a meagre understanding of the principles of a correct budget system and, in some instances, because of political expediency the type of budget adopted did not always fix definite responsibility and the budgetary procedure provided was usually very incomplete.

BUDGET MOVEMENT IN THE STATES

The movement for budgetary reform in the states may be said to have actually begun in 1913, although two years prior to this time Wisconsin and California enacted laws containing some provisions for the establishment of budget methods. During 1913 six states enacted budget legislation, the laws of three of which, namely, Arkansas, Ohio and Oregon, have not since been revised. Each year since 1913 budget legislation has been enacted in one or more states. Beginning with 1916 an increased number of states

have been added each year to the list of those having budgetary provisions. The present year, however, shows the greatest activity of any year; eleven new states—Alabama, Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, Maine, Montana, Nevada, New Hampshire, Oklahoma, South Carolina and Wyoming—have provided for budgetary procedure by statute, while four states—Connecticut, Nebraska, New Mexico and South Dakota—have revised their budgetary procedure.

At the present time there are thirty-nine states which have provided, either by constitutional amendment or by statute, for permanent budgetary procedure of one type or another. In addition to these, four other states have taken steps looking toward the adoption of budget methods. Delaware enacted in 1917 a law adopting an executive budget plan for a single session. During the same year Michigan provided for a temporary budget commission of inquiry and North Carolina enacted a law making it the duty of the legislative reference librarian to receive and compile the estimates for the legislature. The Indiana legislature of 1919 passed for the first time a proposed budget amendment to the constitution modelled directly after the Maryland executive budget amendment. There remain only Florida, Missouri, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island and Texas that have not yet adopted or are in the course of adopting some form of budgetary procedure.

TYPES OF STATE BUDGET SYSTEMS

The budget plans, which have been adopted by the states, may be classified under four types with reference to the location of responsibility for the initiation of the budget. These types are (1) the executive type, when the governor is made responsible for the formulation of the budget; (2) the administrative board type, when a group of administrative officers (usually including the governor) is responsible for the preparation of the budget; (3) the administrative-legislative board type, when a committee composed of both administrative and legislative officers prepares the budget; and (4) the legislative type, when the budget is prepared by a legislative committee.

The budget plans of twenty-two of the thirty-nine states having permanent budgetary procedure may be classified under the executive type. These states and the dates of the adoption of their plans are as follows: Arizona (1919), Colorado (1919), Idaho (1919), Illinois (1917), Iowa (1915), Kansas (1917), Maryland (constitutional amendment, 1916), Massachusetts (constitutional amendment, 1918), Minnesota (1915), Mississippi (1918), Nebraska (1915, repealed by new law, 1919), Nevada (1919), New Hampshire (1919), New Jersey (1916), New Mexico (1917, repealed by new law, 1919), Ohio (1913), Oklahoma (1919), Oregon (1913), South Carolina (1919), Utah (1917), Virginia (1918) and Wyoming (1919). However, the budget plans of three of these states contain variations from the true type of executive budget. The New Hampshire budget law provides that the state treasurer shall compile the estimates and the governor-elect shall make recommendations thereon to the legislature. Under the provisions of the Oregon budget law the secretary of state tabulates the estimates which the governor transmits to the legislature together with executive recommendations. The budget law of South Carolina provides that the chairman of the house ways and means committee and the senate finance committee shall sit with the governor at the public hearings on the estimates, but responsibility for submitting budget recommendations to the legislature is placed upon the governor.

Nine states have budget laws which create budget-making authorities of the administrative board type. In these states the boards which prepare and present the budget to the legislature are composed of the administrative officers of the state government and are constituted in one of the following ways: (1) *ex officio* members only, (2) *ex officio* members and members appointed by the governor, (3) members appointed by the governor. These states and the dates of the adoption of their budget plans are: Alabama (1919), California (1911), Connecticut (1915, amended 1919), Kentucky (1918), Louisiana (1916), Montana (1919), Tennessee (1917), Washington (1915) and West Virginia (constitutional amendment, 1918). Of these nine states six provide that the governor shall be a member of the budget board and he controls by appointment the budget boards of the three remaining states.

Six states have budget laws providing for budget boards or committees consisting of both administrative and legislative officers. These states are Georgia (1918), Maine (1919), North Dakota (1915), South Dakota (1917, amended 1919), Vermont (1915) and Wisconsin (1911). In every case the governor is a member of the budget boards.

Two states—Arkansas (1913) and New York (1916)—have budget laws which provide that the budget shall be prepared and submitted to the legislature by legislative committees.

EXECUTIVE TYPE OF BUDGET PREFERRED AMONG THE STATES

Of the thirty-nine states having provisions for budgetary procedure at the present time, twenty-two have adopted the executive type of budget. Of these twenty-two states two enacted their budget legislation in 1913, three in 1915, two in 1916, four in 1917, three in 1918 and eight in 1919. These figures indicate that the executive budget idea has rapidly gained favor since 1916. It was at this time that the first comprehensive executive budget was adopted by Maryland and made a part of the state constitution. Since 1916 the Maryland budget provisions have been largely copied in the budget laws of six states. The Virginia budget law, enacted in 1918, has been adopted in modified form during the present year by five states. It thus appears that the Maryland and Virginia forms of the executive type of budget have found greatest favor among the states adopting this type. Briefly stated, the essential difference between the two forms is that the Maryland form places limitations upon the power of the legislature to increase the executive proposals, while the Virginia form does not.

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The present status of the executive budget in the states will now be considered, first, from the standpoint of a brief comparative analysis of the budget laws; and, second, from the standpoint of the operation of these laws.

I. Analysis of State Executive Budget Laws

FORM, PREPARATION AND FILING OF ESTIMATES

The New Jersey budget law prescribes the form of the estimates of expenditures in greater detail than any other state budget law, even going to the extent of setting up the estimate forms as part of the rules appended to the law. This law also attempts to prescribe a budget classification. It requires the expenditure estimates to

be classified as (1) maintenance (other than salaries); (2) salaries; (3) repairs and replacements; (4) miscellaneous and (5) new buildings. The Maryland budget amendment and the Virginia budget law, as well as the budget laws modelled after these two states, provided that the governor shall determine the form and classification of the estimates.

Several of the executive budget laws prescribe the general form of revenue estimates. In most cases the state auditor or state comptroller is required to make up these estimates and file them with the governor. In New Jersey and Kansas the comptroller and treasurer jointly furnish to the governor a statement of revenues and past expenditures.

Only two of the executive budget laws, namely, Idaho and Illinois, specify a date for submitting the estimate sheets to the spending agencies. In the case of Idaho, the estimate blanks are sent out by August 15 and required to be filed by the spending agencies by October 1. In the case of Illinois, blanks are sent out September 15 and required to be filed by November 1.

The estimates are required to be filed directly with the budget-making authority, that is, the governor, except in the following states. In Idaho, Illinois and Nevada estimates are filed with the finance departments as provided under the new administrative consolidation codes. In Oregon estimates are filed with the secretary of state, and in New Hampshire with the state treasurer.

The budget laws of New Jersey and Kansas require the estimates to be sworn to by a responsible officer of the spending agency before submission to the governor.

The executive budget laws, with the exception of the Maryland amendment and those laws modelled after it, provide a specific date for the submission of the estimates to the governor. This date usually falls within the month of November. The Maryland amendment and the budget laws of Colorado and New Mexico designate the officers who shall prepare and file the estimates for the legislature and the judiciary.

REVIEW AND REVISION OF ESTIMATES

All of the executive budget laws, except the Iowa law, provide for the review of the estimates by the governor. While the budget laws of Arizona, Iowa, Kansas, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New Hampshire, Ohio, and Oregon provide for a review of the estimates by the governor, they do not provide for executive revision. The budget law of Mississippi gives the governor the power to revise all estimates. In Colorado, New Mexico, Oklahoma, South Carolina and Virginia the governor may review all estimates except those of the legislature and the judiciary. The governor of New Mexico, however, may review the estimates of the legislature and the judiciary and may make such recommendations with reference to these estimates as he may think proper. The budget laws of Idaho, Illinois and Nebraska provide that the estimates shall be submitted to the department of finance of each state and the head of this department may alter the estimates before submitting them to the governor for his recommendations. The budget amendment of Maryland provides that the governor may revise all estimates, except those of the legislature, the judiciary and the public schools. In Minnesota the governor may revise all estimates, except those of the legislature, judiciary, state university and the state militia. In Nevada and Utah the governor may revise all estimates,

except those relating to the legislature, public debt obligations and fixed salaries. The governor of Wyoming may revise all estimates, except those of the legislature.

The budget laws of Arizona, Kansas, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New Hampshire, Ohio, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Virginia and Wyoming give the governor special powers of investigation and examination in order to determine the need for all requests.

The budget laws of Colorado, Kansas, Maryland, New Jersey, New Mexico, Nevada, and Utah provide that the governor *may* in his discretion, or upon request, hold public hearings upon the estimates. The laws of Idaho, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Virginia and Wyoming provide that the governor *shall* hold public hearings on the estimates. In Idaho the governor must provide public hearings and invite the governor-elect to be present.

SPECIAL STAFF AGENCY

The budget laws of Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, Illinois, Kansas, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Jersey, Nebraska, Ohio, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Virginia and Wyoming provide assistance for the governor in the preparation of the budget. The laws of Arizona, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Virginia and Wyoming provide that the governor shall employ competent budget assistants to help him in gathering budget data, in making a general survey of the state's financial condition, and in preparing the budget. The Colorado budget law creates the office of budget and economy commissioner at a salary of $3,600 a year, who is to assist the governor in the preparation of the budget. Under the administrative consolidation codes of Idaho, Illinois and Nebraska the governor is assisted in the preparation of the budget by the head of the department of finance. The Illinois department of finance has a bureau under the direction of a superintendent of budget which handles the budget and related subjects. In Kansas the governor may name administrative officers to assist him in the preparation of the budget. The governor of Massachusetts is assisted by the supervisor of administration, who reviews the estimates and gathers necessary budget data. The Minnesota law provides that the governor may call upon the chief executive officers for assistance. The New Jersey budget law provides that the governor may appoint two special budget assistants. The budget law of Ohio empowers the governor to appoint competent persons to make examinations. In practice, he appoints a budget commissioner who receives the estimates and prepares the budget for transmission to the legislature.

THE PREPARATION OF THE BUDGET

The New Jersey and Kansas budget laws provide that the governor shall make a summary of the estimates with recommendations thereon. The New Hampshire law provides that the governor-elect shall make recommendations on the estimates. The budget commissioner of Ohio and the secretary of the state of Oregon compile the estimates and the governor makes recommendations thereon to the legislature. The Maryland budget amendment requires the governor to prepare two budgets, one for each year of the ensuing fiscal biennium. The budget laws of Arizona, Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, Mississippi, Nebraska, Nevada, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Utah, Virginia and Wyoming provide that the governor shall prepare a budget for the ensuing fiscal period.

FORM AND CONTENTS OF THE BUDGET

The Maryland budget amendment, ratified in 1916, was the first to set forth in any great detail the form and contents of the budget. It provides that there shall be two budgets, one for each year of the ensuing fiscal biennium. Each of these budgets shall be divided into two parts: I. "Governmental Appropriations," including estimates of appropriations for (1) general assembly, (2) executive department, (3) judiciary department, (4) to pay and discharge the principle and interest of the state debt, (5) salaries payable by the state under the constitution and laws, (6) public schools, and (7) other purposes set forth in the constitution; II. "General Appropriations," including all other estimates. It further provides that each budget shall contain a complete plan of proposed expenditures and estimated revenues and shall show the estimated deficit or surplus of revenues at the end of each year to be financed. It provides that a statement shall accompany the budget showing (1) revenues and expenditures for each of the two fiscal years next preceding, (2) balance sheet, (3) debts and funds, (4) estimate of state's financial condition at the ends of each of the fiscal years covered by budgets, and (5) any explanations by the governor.

The laws of Alabama, Utah and Nevada contain provisions relating to the form and contents of the budget which are very similar to those of Maryland, the main difference being that these states do not require the budget to be divided into two parts, namely, "governmental appropriations" and "general appropriations." The provisions of the Nevada law are copied directly from those of Utah.

The Virginia budget law, enacted in 1918, was the first law following the Maryland budget amendment which prescribed in detail the form and contents of the budget of a somewhat different character from that of Maryland. The Virginia law requires that the budget shall contain a complete and itemized plan of all proposed expenditures for each state agency, classified by function, character and object; also estimated revenues and borrowings for each year of the ensuing biennial period. It requires that alongside each item of the proposed expenditures the budget shall show in parallel columns the amounts appropriated for each of the last two preceding appropriation years, and the increases or decreases. It also requires that there shall accompany the budget (1) a statement of revenues and expenditures for each of the two preceding appropriation years, (2) a current balance statement, (3) a debt and fund statement, (4) a statement of conditions of the treasury at the beginning and end of the two appropriation years covered by the budget, (5) a balance sheet of the state at the close of the last preceding fiscal year, (6) a general survey of the state's financial and natural resources with a review of its general economical, industrial and commercial conditions.

The budget laws of Oklahoma, South Carolina and Wyoming contain provisions relating to the form and contents of the budget which are identical with those of Virginia. The laws of Arizona and Colorado contain provisions similar to those of Virginia.

The budget law of Illinois, enacted as a part of the civil administrative code, provides that the budget shall contain the amounts recommended by the governor to be appropriated to the several spending agencies, the estimated revenues from taxation and from sources other than taxation, and the estimated amount required to be raised by tax-

ation. The governor is required to transmit, together with the budget, the estimates of receipts and expenditures received by the director of finance from the elective officers in the executive and judicial departments and from the University of Illinois. The civil administrative codes of Idaho and Nebraska contain provisions relating to the form and contents of the budget similar to those of Illinois.

The New Jersey budget law, adopted in 1916, contains no specific provisions concerning the contents of the budget. It merely says that the budget shall be in the shape of a separate message to the legislature, containing a summary of the estimates with recommendations thereon by the governor, and shall be in easily understood form. The Kansas budget law, copied from that of New Jersey, contains similar provisions.

The Massachusetts budget amendment, ratified in 1918, prescribes the general contents of the budget and leaves the form of this document to be prescribed by statute. The amendment says that the budget shall contain a statement of all proposed expenditures of the state for the next fiscal year, including those already authorized by law, and of all taxes, revenues, loans and other means by which such expenditures shall be defrayed. Chapter 244 of the laws of 1918, which supplements the budget amendment, says that the budget shall show separately the estimates and recommendations of the governor for (1) expenses of administration, operation and maintenance, (2) deficiencies or overdrafts in appropriations of former years, (3) new construction, additions, improvements and other capital outlay, (4) interests on public debt, sinking fund and serial bond requirements, and (5) all requests for expenditures for new projects and other undertakings.

The budget laws of Minnesota, Mississippi and New Mexico contain only brief provisions as to the form and contents of the budget. The budget laws of New Hampshire, Ohio and Oregon contain no provisions regarding the form and contents of the budget.

DATE OF SUBMITTING THE BUDGET TO THE LEGISLATURE

The budget laws of Ohio and Oregon provide that the budget shall be submitted to the legislature at the opening of the session. The laws of Arizona, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Virginia and Wyoming provide that the budget shall be submitted not later than five days after the beginning of the legislative session. The laws of Idaho and Montana require the budget to be submitted not more than ten days after the legislature convenes. The laws of Colorado, New Mexico and Nevada require the budget to be submitted within fifteen days after the convening of the legislature. Illinois requires the budget to be submitted not more than four weeks after the convening of the legislature; Kansas on the second Tuesday in January; Massachusetts three weeks after the convening of the legislature; Minnesota by February 1; New Jersey by the second Tuesday in January; Nebraska by March 1; and Utah twenty days after the beginning of the session. Mississippi requires the governor to mail each member of the legislature a copy of the budget ten days prior to the beginning of the session and to present it to the legislature on the first day of the session. New Hampshire requires the governor-elect at the time of his inauguration, or as soon thereafter as practicable, to make budget recommendations to the legislature.

The Maryland budget amendment provides that a newly elected governor

shall have more time in which to prepare his budget than is allowed a governor who has been in office a year. It provides that the budget shall be submitted twenty days after the beginning of the session or in the case of a newly elected governor thirty days.

PROVISIONS FOR A CONSOLIDATED APPROPRIATION BILL

Eleven states, having the executive type of budget, provide for a consolidated appropriation bill. Budget laws of Idaho, Maryland, Nevada and Utah require the governor to accompany the budget, when submitted to the legislature, with a bill containing all proposed expenditures, clearly itemized and classified. The budget laws of Oklahoma, Virginia and Wyoming require the governor to submit to the legislature with the budget a tentative appropriation bill, clearly itemized and properly classified, for each of the two ensuing fiscal years. The Massachusetts budget amendment requires all appropriations based on the budget to be incorporated in a single bill called the "general appropriation bill."

The New Jersey law provides that there shall be no supplemental, deficiency or incidental bills; hence, it may be presumed that all appropriations are to be included in one appropriation bill. However, this bill is in practice prepared by the joint appropriation committee of the legislature. The budget law of South Carolina makes provisions for the consideration of a budget bill, but no provisions are made for its preparation or introduction. The New Hampshire law requires the appropriation committee to report to the legislature one appropriation bill, unless the governor requests appropriations be made in separate bills.

The governors of Colorado and Arizona are required to set up the proposed appropriations in the form of one or more bills and to submit these to the legislature.

The budget laws of Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Mississippi, Nebraska, Ohio and Oregon make no provisions for a consolidated appropriation bill, or the drafting by the governor of one or more bills covering the proposed appropriations.

BUDGETARY PROCEDURE IN THE LEGISLATURE

The budget laws of Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Mississippi, Nebraska, New Jersey, Ohio and Oregon make no provisions relative to budgetary procedure for the legislature.

The Maryland budget amendment provides that the governor shall deliver the budget bill to the presiding officers of the two houses of the legislature who, in turn, shall introduce it immediately in their respective houses. The amendment further provides that the governor may amend or supplement the bill while in the legislature. Finally, the amendment provides that the governor and such administrative officers as have been designated by him shall have the right and, when requested by either house, it shall be their duty to appear and be heard with respect to the budget bill during its consideration. The budget laws of Nevada and Utah contain similar provisions except they do not provide for the appearance of the governor, or his representative, in the legislature.

The Virginia budget law provides that the standing appropriation committees of the legislature must begin within five days after the budget is submitted to hold joint and open sessions on it. The law provides further that this joint committee may

require representatives of spending agencies to appear before it and give information, and it may admit and hear all persons interested in the estimates. Finally, the law provides that the governor, or his representative and the governor-elect shall have the right to sit at these public hearings and to be heard. The budget laws of Idaho, Oklahoma, South Carolina and Wyoming make similar provisions. South Carolina, however, makes the additional provision that the state tax commission shall be present at all hearings before the joint committee of the legislature.

Under the Arizona budget law the proposed appropriation bills are referred to the appropriation committees of the house and senate for consideration. The Colorado law provides that the governor's appropriation bill or bills shall be introduced immediately upon presentation and referred to the appropriation committees, after which he may amend such bills and also appear before the appropriation committees. The governor of Massachusetts may recommend supplementary budgets to the legislature. In New Hampshire the governor's recommendations are referred to the committee on appropriations.

LIMITATIONS ON LEGISLATIVE ACTION

The Maryland budget amendment was the first to limit the action of the legislature with reference to increasing the items of the governor's budget bill. Under this amendment the legislature cannot amend the budget bill to change the public schools funds, or salaries and obligations required by the constitution; it may increase or decrease the items relating to the general assembly, or increase those relating to the judiciary, but can only reduce or strike out others. It is further provided that the legislature shall not consider other appropriations until the budget bill has been finally acted upon.

The budget law of Utah provides that the legislature may not alter the budget bill except to strike out or reduce items, provided public debt obligations shall not be reduced or eliminated and the salaries of public officers shall not be reduced during their term of office. It further provides that neither house shall consider other appropriations except for an emergency or the immediate expenses of the legislature until the budget bill has been finally acted upon. The budget law of Nevada has similar provisions.

The Virginia budget law provides that the legislature may increase or decrease items in the budget bill; but further and special appropriations, except in the case of an emergency, can be made only after the budget has been finally acted upon. The budget laws of Oklahoma, South Carolina and Wyoming have similar provisions. The Idaho law provides that the legislature may increase or decrease items in the budget bill, and that further or special appropriations, except in the case of an emergency, can be made only after the budget bill has been finally acted upon. The budget amendment of Massachusetts provides that the legislature may increase, decrease, add to, or omit items in the budget, but before final action on the general appropriation bill it shall not enact any other appropriation bill, except on recommendation of the governor.

SUPPLEMENTARY AND SPECIAL APPROPRIATION BILLS

The Maryland budget amendment carries the most rigid provisions with reference to supplementary and special appropriation bills. It not only forbids the legislature to consider other

appropriations until the consolidated appropriation bill, or budget bill, has been finally acted upon, but it provides that every such supplementary appropriation shall be embodied in a separate bill, limited to a single purpose, shall provide the revenue necessary to pay the appropriation thereby made by a tax, direct or indirect, to be laid and collected as shall be directed in said bill, shall receive the majority vote of the elected members of each house, and shall be presented to the governor and be subject to his veto.

The states which have copied this provision from the Maryland law have modified it to the extent of not requiring a tax to be laid unless it appears from the budget that there is not sufficient revenue available to meet the supplementary appropriation. The Utah budget law provides that every supplementary appropriation shall be embodied in a separate bill, limited to a single purpose stated therein, and shall not be valid if it exceeds the amount available in the state treasury, except it provide the revenue necessary to pay the appropriation. The Nevada law has a similar provision.

The Virginia budget law makes no provision with reference to supplementary appropriation bills, except that such bills, when originating in the legislature, must conform to the governor's classification. Similar provision is made in the budget laws of Idaho, Oklahoma, South Carolina and Wyoming.

The Colorado budget law requires the governor to prepare and submit separate special appropriation bills for all purposes not comprehended in the general appropriation bill. The Massachusetts budget amendment provides that after final action on the general appropriation bill or upon recommendation of the governor, special appropriation bills may be enacted; such bills to provide specific means for defraying the appropriation therein contained. The New Jersey law says that there shall be no supplemental, deficiency or incidental bills; and that no money shall be drawn from the treasury except by the general appropriation act.

EXPENDITURE AND CONTROL OF APPROPRIATIONS

The budget laws of Minnesota, Illinois and Nebraska provided for the allotment of appropriations. The Minnesota law requires each department, immediately upon an appropriation for its support being made, to proceed to allot the sum so granted for purposes set forth in the budget. This allotment may subsequently be changed, but the original allotment and also subsequent changes must be reported to the auditor who keeps his accounts and expenditures by such heads. Illinois provides that each department shall, before an appropriation for such department becomes available for expenditure, prepare and submit to the department of finance an estimate of the amount required for each activity to be carried on, and accounts shall be kept and reports rendered showing the expenditures for each such purpose. Nebraska has a provision similar to that of Illinois.

The budget law of New Jersey and the recent budget bill of Maryland provide means for the transfer of appropriations. The New Jersey law provides for transfer within the appropriations of any organization unit by application to the state house commission, composed of the governor, the comptroller and the treasurer. In the Maryland budget bill (chapter 206, section 3, laws of 1918) appropriations are made to organization units in lump

sums with itemized schedules attached. Each lump sum appropriation is paid out in accordance with the schedule which relates to it, unless and until such schedule is amended by action of the governor upon request of the spending agency.

The emergency board of Ohio, consisting of the governor, auditor, attorney general and chairmen of the legislative finance committees, is authorized, in case of an emergency requiring the expenditure of a greater amount than has been appropriated by the legislature for a spending agency, upon application by such spending agency, to authorize the expenditure of money not specifically provided for by law.

In Colorado the budget bill is required to be in such form and detail as to afford effective auditing control over expenditures. Several other states give the governor general powers over the expenditures of appropriations by authorizing him to conduct audits, to provide uniform accounting systems, to investigate into duplication of functions and generally to supervise administration.

II. The Working of State Executive Budgets

Of the twenty-two states having executive budget laws in force at the present time, three states—Ohio, Oregon and New Jersey—have each had three budgets prepared under their respective laws; three states—Iowa, Minnesota and Nebraska—have each had two budgets prepared; six states—Maryland, Illinois, Kansas, New Mexico, Utah and Massachusetts—have each had one budget prepared, and ten states—Mississippi, Virginia, Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, Nevada, New Hampshire, Oklahoma, South Carolina and Wyoming—have had no budget prepared under their laws. Hence one-half save one of the states having budgetary procedure of the executive type has had no experience in the operation of their laws; six more have had only the initial operation, which of course is largely experimental and not a fair test of the adequacy of their laws. This leaves six states, the operation of whose laws may be taken to test. The experience of these states will be considered briefly from the standpoint of indicating the general trend of the development of the state executive budget in this country rather than of trying to set forth certain facts relative to the success or failure of the budgetary procedure of a particular state. It must be borne in mind that the idea of the executive budget, while embodied in the constitution and laws of almost one-half of the states of the Union, is not only a new idea in this country, but the method and procedure through which it is becoming operative are at best incomplete and need the experience of several more years properly to develop them.

Ohio Budget Plan

Governor James M. Cox, in his message to the 1919 legislature of Ohio, said:

"In 1913 a budget system was adopted in this state; it has limitations in operation but they are within the constitution. So far as it has gone, it has helped to simplify the financial affairs of the state. It has resulted in great saving and it clearly indicates what might be accomplished if the results of painstaking investigation were the base of something more than tentative action. . . . The governor, through the budget commissioner, prepares a statement for the assembly, which, by item and specification, shows just what the departments need for the approaching biennium. This estimate, so far as I know, has

never been diminished by legislative investigation or enactment, but always added to."

Governor Cox then spoke of Maryland as having "operated long enough under a new budget system to realize that millions of dollars were lost by failure to adopt it long ago," and recommended the adoption of the Maryland system in Ohio by constitutional amendment.

OREGON BUDGET PROCEDURE

The report of the Oregon Consolidation Commission to the 1919 legislature said, with reference to the state budget methods:

"The present budget procedure in Oregon, as carried out under the law of 1913, should be changed in certain important respects. In the first place, in order that it may be a true budget . . . it should be prepared and compiled under the supervision of the governor, as head of the administration, and, when completed, should be transmitted by him to the legislature with his backing and authority as a statement of the financial needs of the various administrative departments for which he assumes the responsibility. The preparation of budget was placed in the hands of the secretary of state on the theory that this is a mere clerical function. The secretary of state merely acts as an assembling and transmitting agent, and assumes no responsibility for the estimates. Therefore, no responsibility for the estimates is assumed by anybody except the individual heads of departments, who transmit them to the secretary of state, and this responsibility is so diffused on account of the large number of such heads of departments that it is of little consequence. There should be concentrated responsibility for the estimates, and this can properly be assumed only by the governor, as the head of the administration."

As a prerequisite to the development of a thoroughgoing executive budget system the commission outlined a complete plan of administrative consolidation, designed to fix full responsibility upon the governor, and recommended its adoption by the legislature.

NEW JERSEY AND KANSAS

For constitutional reasons the budget law of New Jersey contains no provisions governing the legislative procedure upon the governor's proposals. It has been the practice of the joint appropriation committee, after having received the governor's budget, to do whatever investigating it deemed necessary and then proceed to draft the general appropriation bill, disregarding, if it chose to do so, the governor's recommendations. As a result the legislature has followed practically the same procedure since the adoption of the budget law as it did before in making appropriations. Governor Edge, the author of the law, admitted this to be a serious defect in the law, but one which could not be avoided without constitutional change.

Under the New Jersey law the retiring governor is required to prepare the budget and immediately upon submitting it to the legislature vacates his office. Thereupon, the governor-elect assumes the duties of his office and takes the responsibility of budget recommendations of which he is not the author. The Maryland budget amendment and the recent Nebraska budget law have made provisions in their budgetary procedure against this defect.

The first budget under the Kansas budget law, which was copied from that of New Jersey, was prepared and submitted to the 1919 legislature. Even this first year's experience showed the budgetary procedure provided by the law to be defective in many ways, and an unsuccessful attempt was made by the administration to have the budget law amended before the 1919 legislature adjourned.

RECENT CHANGE IN NEBRASKA'S BUDGETARY PROCEDURE

The 1915 budget law of Nebraska had as its chief purpose the location of responsibility for the budget in the governor. This purpose, however, was not accomplished in 1917 because of the inauguration of a new governor, who under the provisions of the law was required to transmit his budget to the legislature at the opening of the session. The governor in his budget message to the legislature stated that he had not had time since the filing of the estimates to warrant either change or recommendations, and consequently left the whole matter to the judgment of the committees and members of the legislature. During the 1919 session of the legislature a new budget law was enacted as a part of the civil administrative code, which repealed the 1915 law. This law provides that the secretary of finance at the head of the department of finance shall receive and review the estimates and shall tabulate them for submission to the governor by February 1, who, in turn, shall prepare his budget and submit it to the legislature not later than March 1.

IOWA AND MINNESOTA

Governor Clarke of Iowa in his retiring message to the legislature of 1917 called attention to a number of defects in the budgetary procedure of the state. During this year the governor presented the estimates to the legislature without revision, and the legislature followed its accustomed procedure in making the appropriations.

The Minnesota budget law had its first trial in 1917. The total amount of the requests was $27,000,000, which the governor reduced by $7,716,000. The legislature passed appropriation bills calling for $4,800,000 in excess of the governor's recommendations, and the bills as finally approved by the governor called for $2,589,000 above his recommendations. Unsuccessful attempts were made both in 1917 and in 1919 to amend the budget law. In 1919 it was proposed to constitute a board, instead of the governor, the budget making authority.

MARYLAND BUDGET SYSTEM

It is too soon to attempt to draw any definite conclusions from the operation of the Maryland budget system, as the first budget was made up in 1918. However, the main weakness of the system seems to have been in the legislative consideration of the budget. To quote from Governor Harrington: "What had taken the governor three months for preparation after an intimate acquaintance of four years, the ways and means committee passed upon in practically two or three sittings, each of very short duration. The finance committee of the senate approved the governor's budget appropriation about $12,000,000 *in toto*, and the ways and means committee all except two or three items, the legislature passing the budget bill after striking out but one item of $2,000."

It should be borne in mind that the governor of Maryland is not entirely free and unhampered in making his budget recommendations to the legislature, since complete authority for all executive and administrative action is not centered in him. There are several administrative officers, boards and commissions which are independent of the governor because of the methods by which they obtain office, some being elective and others appointive by the legislature. Furthermore, there are entirely too many separate administrative agencies for the governor to keep a close watch upon all expendi-

tures. The consolidation of the administrative agencies of Maryland into a few integrated departments directly under the governor is needed in order to fix executive responsibility and to make the present budget system a real executive budget.

UTAH AND NEW MEXICO

The Utah budget law, enacted in 1917, was modelled after the Maryland budget amendment. The provision of the law which prohibits action upon special or supplementary appropriation bills before the passage of the budget bill appeared to cause some trouble in the recent legislative session because some of the members insisted upon withholding action on the budget bill, pending the result of other legislation. An attempt was made to eliminate this particular provision from the budget law, but the effort was unsuccessful.

New Mexico had two budget laws passed in 1917. One of these laws had provisions limiting the action of the legislature upon the governor's budget bills to the reduction or elimination of items, and also forbidding the legislature to consider other appropriations until after final action upon the governor's bills. Both of these laws were repealed by a law enacted by the 1919 legislature, which contains no provisions limiting the action of the legislature in making appropriations.

THE ILLINOIS SYSTEM

Illinois is the first state to remodel to any great extent its administrative organization. It was mainly through the initiative and efforts of Governor Frank O. Lowden that a civil administrative code was enacted by the legislature in 1917. Under the provisions of this law the state administrative agencies, with the exception of the constitutional officers and two elective boards, were consolidated into nine great departments. Each department has a director at its head, who is appointed by the governor with the approval of the senate. One of these departments is the department of finance. In pursuance of the powers vested in this department, it has provided for a uniform system of accounting in all departments. It has supervised and examined the accounts and approved or disapproved all vouchers, bills and claims of the several departments. It has required each department, before an appropriation for such department should become available for expenditure, to prepare and submit to it an estimate of the amount required for each activity to be carried on within such department.

The department of finance, which is charged with the preparation of the budget, has full powers to make any investigation which may be necessary to enable it to formulate intelligently the financial needs of the state for the next biennium. In this department under the supervision of the director of finance is a superintendent of budget, who supervises the work of gathering all budget data. The estimates are submitted to the director, whose duty it is to review and revise them before submitting them to the governor for his recommendations thereon to the legislature. No restrictions are placed upon the power of the legislature to change the recommendations of the governor, or to introduce and pass appropriations not recommended by the governor.

It is too early in the course of operation to pass upon the success of the Illinois budget system. Although it must be said that Illinois has blazed the way for other states in the matter of administrative consolidation, which is necessary to the full development of the executive budget system.

COMMUNITY SERVICE, INC.

BY MARTHA CANDLER

The peace-time successor of the War Camp Community Service is the new Community Service, a central bureau for installing autonomous local organizations in towns that want more wholesome and universal neighborliness in recreation. :: :: :: :: :: :: ::

I

As soon as the outcome of the great war became evident, cities and towns all over the country began to ask what they could do to transfer to the solution of chronic—but often heretofore unrecognized—community problems the exalted spirit of service that had suddenly become everywhere evident in patriotic war-time community activities. And would war camp community service stay?

War camp community service is the agency which has acted (in behalf of the War and Navy departments) as a clearing house for community effort to uniformed men—undertaking, where necessary, to awaken a sense of hospitality to uniformed men, and to harmonize conflicting community interests. It is well known that it has aroused such a spirit of "team-play" that people have been brought together, forgetting personal differences and matters of race and creed, and even of politics. A great spirit of friendly understanding has flamed up, and the old, almost-forgotten neighborhood-spirit come back.

Even in a place as big as New York, next-door neighbors have really come to know each other. Lately, many of them have frankly regretted the necessity for going back to the old self-centered existence, and then have suddenly questioned whether they need go back. Could they not organize into permanent community betterment schemes the exalted spirit of service and the energy awakened during the war? Many of them decided spontaneously that with the aid of W. C. C. S. they could.

It has been the mistaken idea of many people, and a statement often made in the press, that this organization had a fund of sundry millions to be expended in such work. But the facts in the case are that, though the War and Navy departments have expressed much interest in seeing the work carried into peace-time projects, they have joined with the committee of eleven in deciding that no part of the funds raised by the united war work campaign may be used for the establishment or carrying on of peace-time activities. Therefore, in order to meet the demand and function as a national agency to assist these local peace-time community efforts, the organization has begun operations as community service, incorporated, and will utilize practically the same leadership as that of W. C. C. S. and the parent-organization, the Playground and Recreation Association of America, and much of the personnel of the former. Twenty-seven hundred paid workers and thousands of volunteers, who have proved themselves throughout the war in their many-times tedious and exacting activities, are among these.

II

The fundamental principles of the peace-time program are that it will in no way duplicate anything that is already being done in any community, and that all activities and interests fostered shall be strictly non-partisan and non-sectarian in character. It will not only deal with the recreation and civic betterment problems of the whole community but will seek to co-ordinate the separate and varying units in the solution of these problems. The chamber of commerce represents the business interests, the federation of churches represents the religious side of community expression, just as the federation of woman's clubs stands for woman's interest and the local governmental machinery represents a political interest. Each of these has its own place in the ideal community program, and a place which no other can take. Representatives from all of these organizations, forming the local community service council, are now coming together for weekly round-table conferences in more than fifty towns and cities in which it can be truly said real community spirit exists. It is all so simple that we wonder why we have been so long attaining to it, and the statistics from any of the fifty centers are eloquent with the most marvelous results of this co-operation.

III

At an initial meeting of this sort held recently in Chillicothe the representative of the local labor federation, in a stirring speech, said that it was the first occasion on which a representative of the laboring man had ever been asked to take part in matters of civic or community interest, and ended by pledging the loyalty of organized labor to whatever furthered the interests of the community at large. What this sort of co-operation may mean and the splendid spirit of good fellowship and good will growing out of it has been generously demonstrated recently at Waterbury, Connecticut.

IV

When community service was first begun at Waterbury, it was discovered that, with its rapid expansion from a little factory town to a city of 100,000 during the war, whatever park space and outdoor recreation centers existed had been sacrificed in the interest of munitions output. When the dearth of space for organized sports or other outdoor recreation was called to the attention of the American brass company, an employer of large numbers of men, a tract a mile long and 700 feet wide, known as the "golf lots," was dedicated to the cause of public play. A day was set aside in which the whole town came to help put the grounds into usable condition. Fifty men came with shovels, rakes and axes. Factories loaned scoops, scrapers, harrows, wagons, tractors, and plows, and necessary men to operate them. The mayor and the city engineer came along. Schoolboys and their mothers came along to help, and in that one day two baseball diamonds were laid out. Eight more are being made, and tennis courts, a running track, and other play provisions provided. The carpenters' and electricians' unions gave their time to building and wiring an ample locker house on the fields, and the painters' and plumbers' unions, not to be outdone, came forward and volunteered to paint the structure and install shower baths, lavatories, etc. And now Waterbury is forming, among other things, a league of amateur baseball teams from all the factories and industries.

The community service in Waterbury, though but recently formed, is typical in many respects. It is conducted under a constitution and by-laws which provide:

(a) Workers in the field—"The Waterbury Community Service."

(b) Advisers—"The Waterbury Community Service Council."

(c) Executives—"The Waterbury Community Service Commission."

Any group of persons applying for recognition in the service may be accorded membership when so voted by Delegates—one from each group; Active members including

(a) One business person,
(b) One representative of manufacturing interests,
(c) One labor representative,
(d) One representative of the city administration,
(e) Two representatives of the church,
(f) One representative of the public at large,
(g) Two representative community-minded women.

The ex-officio membership is made up of

Chairman of the Board of Education,
Chairman of the Board of Public Works,
Chairman of the Board of Alderman,
Chairman of the Board of Commission of Public Safety,
Chairman of the Board of Finance,
Chairman of the Board of Health,
Chairman of the Board of Charities,
Superintendent of Parks,
Chairman of Community Service Council.

Only active members vote.

V

Chester, Pennsylvania, is fortunate enough to have the governor as active local chairman of community service. One of the first activities there, under his direction, was the outlining of the purposes and methods of the undertaking. An advisory council and an executive committee were formed "to organize working committees and make other appropriate arrangements for the development of activities and facilities including community singing, dances, socials, entertainments, dinners, athletics, games, hikes, and physical development contests, pageants, dramatics, and folk dancing."

New baths, comfort stations, and club houses were at once provided, and the use of schools, parks, churches, libraries, and fraternal buildings secured for evening social and educational activities. The first "dry saloon" in the United States was opened in the heart of Chester's business district, and at once became the center of Chester's democratic life for the men, old and young. This, America's pioneer venture along this line, was daringly started on a floor above one of the "wet" ones, and that more than a half-year before there was any prospect of the latter's going!

Chester's population, now made up of representatives of thirty-two nationalities, has increased 200 per cent since the beginning of the war, and Chester's Americanization pageant, "The League of Nations," has become familiar to people all over the country, and has been adopted in a number of communities over the country. The utmost effort is made to conserve the play traditions of these peoples, all from civilizations older than ours. The native songs and games, the folk dances, and traditional folk lore are all carefully fitted into the community program, and it is a happy new citizenship which is made to feel that it brings much as well as receiving much from the country of its adoption.

One of the most interesting features of Chester's program—and a feature which is found in many other community service cities—is the hospitality committee which devotes its time to conserving the friendliness of everybody for everybody else which was such a delightful thing in the soldier and sailor entertainment centers during the war. The soldiers are gone; there are civilians in their stead, but the hospitality centers remain. Downtown buildings, church basements, and other large available space is being utilized for big Saturday night dinners and "get acquainted" parties. Committees of Chester's women and girls act as community hostesses, introducing newcomers to old Chester residents and seeing that everyone is included in the red circle of hospitality. An expert woman organizer and recreation director is at the head of this department, and monthly and weekly "parlor conferences" are held in various parts of the city with a view to developing group leadership and working out further plans for hospitality activities. Large public dances, with Chester's leading men and women citizens acting as hosts and hostesses, are held twice every week.

A physical training class has been started to develop "play leaders" and instruct them in all sorts of outdoor games and exercises. These leaders will act as volunteer supervisors and promoters of games in parks, vacant lots, and the public playgrounds. The recreational directors of the local Boy Scouts, the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. are all co-operating heartily with community service in the conduct of these training classes.

The various nationalities making up Chester's population, to some extent, live in segregated neighborhoods so that the evening school center organization is an admirable vehicle for the elaborate Americanization programs, each nationality having the opportunity to develop its own contribution to the pageant program before meeting with the others. Lectures, talks by prominent leaders, and study clubs in current events are also carried on in the school and other neighborhood centers, and altogether such a program of interests and activities provided for that few people would have any excuse for being lonely in Chester.

VI

In Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, two community clubs have already been opened, and six more are under way. These fill widely varying community needs, and include country clubs and vacation clubs for women and girls. In addition, the coliseum on the south side of the city, with a seating capacity of 4,000, furnishes a community auditorium, used for sings, dances, and similar large "get togethers." Bethlehem, too, was lacking in adequate park space, and like Waterbury came into a rich heritage as soon as the needs were realized. Prominent people donated a large tract of land, and the municipality made provision for more, so that now Bethlehem has baseball, tennis, and golf enough for all its inhabitants, and within walking distance, or within a five-cent car ride of them all, with skating, boating, fishing, swimming, and hunting in addition.

In Bethlehem, one of the principal centers of recreation is a church which has recently become so enthusiastic over community service that it has installed two new bowling alleys in the basement. It now has a pool and billiard table, a library, a gymnasium, a motion picture machine, and excellent kitchen facilities. The membership of its men's clubs has been thrown open to the public. A meeting of rep-

resentatives of all churches was recently held there to form a church athletic league.

VII

But community service is not by any means confined to industrial centers. It is the agency of the whole American people working out their own peculiar problems, whatever these may be—and wherever. Already a number of large cities have begun organizing by blocks. One person in each block is appointed to know when new families move in, to call on them, and to see that they are put in touch with the social and recreational opportunities of that city. Among these are Cincinnati, Philadelphia, and Minneapolis. In both Indiana and Michigan new laws have recently been passed giving state recognition and aid to certain community organization projects, and in at least one other state movement to obtain such legislation is under way.

Michigan's new law has been the direct outgrowth of the Camp Custer community house, erected with a $300,000 state war fund. Here during the war all sorts of people came to visit their soldier relatives; here, in fact, the people of the state had a common meeting place and, for the first time in their experience, farmers and the business men from the largest cities, society dames and little factory girls came to recognize a whole community of common interests. The state community commission is the successor of the various war boards of the state.

The future of community service can be limited only by our failure to realize its true significance. It is the activities of democracy working out its own potentialities in individuality and life. It stands for equal rights, equal opportunities, and equal humanity, deserving the freest development, the freest comradeship and respect. Democracy, according to even the most ardent enthusiasts, is going to be on trial for some time to come. But when we take thought of the strong spirit of true Americanism asserting itself through the almost spontaneous community organizations all over the country, we have no fears for the outcome.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

I. BOOK REVIEWS.

COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP. The New Profession. By Lucius E. Wilson. New York: The American City Bureau. 137 pp.

"Let us dream of the America that might be if we were united upon a program of national advance; if the wisest of her local leaders in a thousand cities were heading for certain fixed points in social strength, labor, housing, government and patriotic spirit to be reached in five years." This is the keynote of Lucius E. Wilson's admirable book on community leadership. It may sound to the prosaic like the call of a dreamer, but the reader will find that Mr. Wilson has told us in a very practical way how to follow Thoreau's advice to "build your castles in the air—*and then put foundations under them!*"

Mr. Wilson, in writing his book, has chosen especially for his audience the secretaries of chambers of commerce, and in outlining the manner in which they can best serve their organizations and communities as civic leaders he has developed the phrase "the new profession," which serves as the sub-title of his book. But his message is so fundamental, so broad in its outlook, so sane in its manner and substance, so effective in making clear the way to turn a mediocre community into a "live town," that it may well serve a much wider audience. There is no officer or member of a civic or commercial club, no captain or private in the ranks fighting for good government, whose thinking will not be a little clearer, whose heart beat a little warmer, for having read the book.

It is both practical and inspirational. That is to say, it tells very definitely how to develop a program for civic betterment, and how to enlist interest and support, while at the same time the author sustains a note of idealism which calls men to service.

Here is a problem so widespread and imminent that more than 3,000 cities and towns in America have organized chambers of commerce to face it. Eight or ten millions of dollars, as the author points out, are spent each year by American cities through their chambers of commerce for community advancement. How may the executive officers of these 3,000 organizations most effectively direct their efforts? Mr. Wilson's answer is that they must first of all perceive the basic difference between a philosophy of crass materialism and of genuine idealism, between unsound selfishness and the gospel of service. When they or their organizations fail to reach the standards they have set, it is because they have lacked a general philosophy—a guiding religion of their work. Here again someone may accuse the dreamer. But see how practical it is. Chambers of commerce are composed of business men; business men want to boom business; they want to fill the city with factories —to attract more business. Mere community money-grabbing will never accomplish the desired end. No live community believes that matter is everything and spirit nothing. Neither will "natural advantages"—witness the brass industries of Connecticut, the leather industries of Newark, the shoe industries of Brockton, the cotton industries of Manchester, and other instances of industries far removed from sources of raw materials. The town or city that rests its case for preferment wholly or chiefly on its natural advantages merely invites competition. Nor is community advancement procured by considering only "the interests of business."

All these fallacies have been laid to rest. What has evolved and endured is the fundamental truth that "the most dependable means of improving business is to steadily raise the plane of living for average men." This, the author shows, is the primary lesson to be taught the citizen who will have more factories, willy-nilly, and more business in spite of other considerations. This and the art of team-thinking are the primaries which the community leader must incessantly stress.

Mr. Wilson describes illuminatingly the principles which the community leader—and, with his direction, the chamber of commerce—must teach. Co-operation rather than competition between cities is first emphasized, and the amazing interdependence of men and cities is shown. As Mr. Wilson well says, unlike the game of politics where one man must lose that another

may win, community co-operation is essentially a game in which the prospect of one man's winning increases as others also win. "The chamber of commerce must steadily point the public mind toward the great fact that individual success is made possible by the advance of the world. It is the group progress that makes individual progress easy." Imagination, vision, and faith in the future and in fellow-men are inherent in successful business. With these as a basis, gradually they can be merged into genuine idealism, and the citizens of any city brought to see that the intangible forces that shape human life are the ones with which the progressive community should chiefly concern itself. "A city," says the author, "must think progress, must be guided by its optimists, must value constructive men more than destructive ones, must have a clear idea of the demands and possibilities of future city and national growth, and must have the courage to live up to its ideal. This is the foundation of a modern chamber of commerce."

In the chapters discussing the methods of chamber of commerce leadership, the necessity for planning far ahead, what the secretary must be and know, and what his relation is to the community, Mr. Wilson has included a wealth of sound guiding principles that will prove enlightening and stimulating to all who have any part in community activities.

RUSSELL RAMSEY.

MAN AND THE NEW DEMOCRACY. William A. McKeever, Ph.M., LL.D. New York: George H. Doran Company. 250 pp.

Dr. McKeever thinks of government not merely in terms of machinery, but in terms of humanity. As against a democracy that exists only on paper, he believes that men will have a free government just as soon as they create it through their personal, living experience, and he turns to the young generation for a new starting point. He examines the general inherent nature of childhood, seeking a clew to the direction along which child development may be guided to a realization of the democratic experience he describes. He analyses the child instincts of play, work, personal and group combat, and social contact with his age and kind, to learn their real significance, maintaining that if these basic human impulses are rightly studied and understood they furnish the most reliable key.

Dr. McKeever believes that the superman, erected so laboriously, and now demolished so completely, will be replaced by the "great common man" inherent in American life. He foresees a redirection and readjustment of commercial affairs by which business will be measured in terms of service, somewhat as it was during the war. Business must be thought of primarily not for profits but for its contribution to the common human need. Labor, too, will be a means of salvation; not merely concessions of wages and hours will give laboring men the right attitude toward their work; the child impulse for creative work must be preserved and developed, so that men will find satisfaction in work as service to humanity.

The author extends his forecast in many other directions. Motherhood will have a new interpretation; instead of merely physical, it will be also spiritual and universal, as is the motherhood of Jane Addams. As part of democracy, religion will be the search for the divine, not in the abstract, but in the concrete study of men. Health will be as inherent a right as food, shelter and schooling, and as accessible. Loyalty will be man's reaction to the discovery of his unity with the life of common mankind and the resultant inner conviction of his duty to support any course of endeavor which tallies most closely with the inherent demands of the race. War will give place to physical combat for constructive social purposes, of which the building of the Panama Canal is perhaps a prototype. These examples are suggestive of the new democracy which Dr. McKeever proposes as a substitute for the superman, and for which, he contends, the time will be ripe whenever the nation's thinking makes it so.

RUSSELL RAMSEY.

A NEW MUNICIPAL PROGRAM. Edited by Clinton Rogers Woodruff. New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1919. 392 pp.

One of the founders of the London Fabian Society explained the tremendous influence of that small group of individuals by the fact that they had given much study to all the important public questions of the day and always had a clear-cut and definite program ready to offer when problems reached the stage where action was necessary. The group of reformers with a well-considered program will everywhere exercise an influence far in excess of its numerical importance.

There are various ways, however, of making up programs of constructive reform. A common method is for a group of like-minded enthusiasts to organize, under the domination perhaps of a single individual, and seek by propaganda and skilful publicity to inculcate reform ideas. Another, and a contrasting method, is to bring together intelligent citizens, holding varied and independent views, and construct a reform program from the common ground of principles and methods which all can accept. This is not the procedure of the radical reformer and propagandist, but experience shows that it is the way to achieve substantial and lasting results. This was, in effect, the method adopted in 1897 by a group of municipal reformers who saw the need and opportunity for a municipal program. The National Municipal League, organized in 1894, after three years of patient work by committees, discussion and criticism, formulated and adopted in 1900 the Municipal Program, which has stimulated and guided to an incalculable degree the rapid progress achieved in the last twenty years in municipal government.

So potent was the virus of reform that by 1918 the Program had ceased adequately to represent the common ideals of forward-looking students of municipal government. The League, therefore, appointed another committee to reconsider the principles and revise the framework of an efficient municipal government.

The central feature of the New Municipal Program, formulated by the same painstaking care, through conference and discussion, that marked the original Program, is the commission manager plan of city government. Through this Program the National Municipal League indorses the commission manager type as the ideal form of city government—that is, until more experience and new discoveries result in discarding the city manager in favor of some still more efficient type.

The present volume not only contains the text of constitutional provisions or municipal home rule recommended for incorporation in state constitutions, and the revised model municipal charter, but also illuminating and authoritative chapters on each of the important features of the charter, by members of the committee. The subjects treated in this way include the following: Experts in municipal government, by President Lowell; civil service, by Mr. Foulke; home rule, by Prof. Hatton; electoral provisions, by Mayo Fesler; the short ballot, by Mr. Childs; administrative organization, by Herman G. James; the council, by Prof. Munro; the initiative, referendum and recall, by Mr. Woodruff; franchise policy, by Dr. Wilcox; financial provisions, by Prof. Fairlie; city planning, by M. N. Baker; and business management of the courts, by Herbert Harley.

Wherever constitutional provisions relating to cities or city charter making are under consideration the New Municipal Program will be the most indispensable general guide to intelligent discussion. Its influence in shaping legislation and directing the evolution of municipal government in the coming decades is certain to be very marked.

C. C. Williamson.

✠

Government Ownership of Public Utilities in the United States. By Leon Cammen. McDevitt-Wilson, N. Y., 142 pp.

For a number of years the author of this brochure on government ownership was an official of the former Russian government, traveling and studying throughout Europe, and finally coming to the United States to complete an education in engineering, and incidentally political science. Mr. Cammen, therefore, discusses his subject not only from an American point of view, but with a background of European experience and study in similar fields.

The author is strongly opposed to government ownership,—particularly of railroads. Such opposition is based upon the supposed economic and political difficulties which will arise when a great transportation industry touching the welfare of all other industries is managed from Washington. A dismal picture is portrayed in which the spirit of democracy is destroyed, state sovereignty is intruded upon, flexibility of railway construction ceases, a host of public employes is intruded into politics, courtesy ends, "pork barrel" expenditures begin, senators' sons-in-law displace capable executives, and the service goes to pot by stopping the competition that goes with private ownership.

Mr. Cammen is pessimistic, and supports his pessimism with a number of instances from the present situation, and apparently most patrons of the railroads are in the same frame of mind.

As a solution for the situation the author offers co-operative regulation by the federal

government and the states, both of which now have constitutional rights of regulation. He would divide the country into possibly six districts, with direct control in each by a board consisting of public utility commissioners, railroad officials and representatives of organizations of shippers. Matters affecting two or more districts would be handled by representatives of those districts.

LENT D. UPSON.*

✤

AMERICAN MARRIAGE LAWS IN THEIR SOCIAL ASPECTS.—A Digest. By Fred S. Hall and Elisabeth W. Brooke. New York: Russell Sage Foundation. 132 pp.

Some one once defined marriage as the first step toward divorce. There is more significance than mere wit in this cynicism in its relation to the divorce problem. There is now a definite connection recognized between divorce and marriage laws, yet much more attention is paid to the former than to the latter. This digest of our marriage laws is therefore of very real value in helping to understand a vital social problem. In addition to a digest of laws by states, it contains a useful digest by topics, as well as a number of proposals for marriage law reform.

✤

ITALIAN WOMEN IN INDUSTRY. A Study of Conditions in New York City. By Louise C. Odencrantz. New York: Russell Sage Foundation. 345 pp.

The success of efforts at Americanization depends largely on our own ability to find out where we stand in relation to the hundreds of thousands of foreign-born who are among us; to learn how they work and play, what are their struggles and successes, their problems and discouragements. This defines the value of the industrial investigations undertaken by the Russell Sage Foundation, one of which is made the basis of the present volume. The author has covered in her investigation and report such subjects as the families of Italian working women, their occupations, work places, hours of work, wages, education, training, etc. The book contains a number of valuable tables, and is a material contribution to our industrial literature.

✤

PUNISHMENT AND REFORMATION. A Study of the Penitentiary System. By Frederick Howard Wines, LL.D. Revised by Winthrop D. Lane. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 481 pp.

Since Dr. Wines last revised his own book in 1910, so many fundamental changes have occurred in penology that further revision was urgent. This has been admirably accomplished by Winthrop D. Lane, himself an investigator of first-hand material. Mr. Lane has retained unchanged the first ten chapters of Dr. Wines' book, and part of the eleventh, combining with them his own new material in the form of a new conclusion of the eleventh chapter and four supplementary chapters. In this revision he has covered from the latest standpoint the study and treatment of delinquents, the development of self-government among prisoners, and an analysis of causes and prevention of crime additional to those originally examined by Dr. Wines.

*Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc.

II. REVIEWS OF REPORTS

Housing and Town Planning in Paris.—A report of the office for cheap dwellings of the Department of the Seine from July 10, 1916, to December 31, 1918, with its numerous and lengthy *annexes*, is an excellent summary of housing and city planning conditions, activities and projects for Greater Paris from *pre-war* times to the first of the present year. It reveals the fact, well known to students of municipal affairs, both in and outside of France, that, noted for its architectural and civic achievements in the past, France at present in housing and city planning,—the civic activities now recognized as paramount,—lagging behind the other progressive countries of Europe. This the report, far from disguising or minimizing, states most emphatically. France has no city planning law; Greater Paris has no official plan; Paris is probably the most congested of all the great cities of Europe. The fact that Frenchmen know this is nothing new,—they have fully realized it for many years; the significant thing is that they have begun to do something about it.

Government aid for cheap housing began in

France in a small way in 1852. In 1889, the French Association for Cheap Dwellings was founded and in 1894 local committees to encourage and supervise the work,—a most important feature of the law which has worked well—were authorized. Government aid on a substantial scale, however, was first provided for under the law of April 12, 1906, which, with those of April 10, 1908, and December 23, 1912, are the basis of the present system.

The law of December 23, 1912, created the Public Offices for Cheap Dwellings, through which cities conduct their housing activities. These offices are authorized to construct cheap dwellings, improve the condition of existing dwellings and lay out garden cities. For this latter purpose 10,000,000 francs was recently granted the office of the Department of the Seine, and the money practically all spent in the purchase of land in various environs of Paris, as the best method of relieving the congestion of the city, the office being given the power of eminent domain as an aid in the acquisition. The intention of the office is to sell land for housing, use the proceeds for building houses, and endeavor to obtain additional appropriations from the state to construct more. The need, as a part of these schemes, of transportation to these remoter suburbs, heretofore practically non-existent, and of a plan of Greater Paris, are insisted upon.

Special emphasis is laid upon the necessity of preventing all speculation which is sure to occur if land is sold in fee. The English and German systems of preserving the unearned increment for the good of the community,—the long lease of the land, the sale of hereditary building rights, retaining the fee (Erbbaurecht), the right of repurchase (Wiederkaufsrecht), the building by the public, and granting to the tenant of extensive, heritable rights of use, the public retaining the fee—are all fully discussed. The need in any case, of strict zoning, protection of aesthetic and other amenities so dear to Frenchmen, and the furnishing of schools, amusements and all the features of normal life, are dwelt upon. A system of streets, a compromise between the rigidly straight, so often found in America, and the needlessly curved, formerly common in Germany, is suggested. The need of the group house is recognized. The disadvantages of high dividing walls between lots, so general in France, is pointed out. A competition between artists and construction by several instead of a single architect for an entire suburb is suggested; but the advantages of aesthetic control are insisted upon.

In France as in this country, increased costs are a serious problem, building costs having tripled there since the beginning of the war, with no indication of lower figures for the future. The only remedy suggested is the frank recognition that cheap housing is a public necessity and the providing of such housing, so far as necessary, a public function. The report suggests government loans at 2 per cent and 2½ per cent, subventions, and, for houses built by cities, the payment by the state of the difference between present building costs and costs at a normal to be determined hereafter. The only other remedy, as the report points out, is philanthropy, which is neither adequate nor desirable. This report is most instructive reading for us, and the suggested solutions most helpful in the effort to deal rightly with our own housing problems.

FRANK B. WILLIAMS.

The Newsboys of Cincinnati. By Maurice B. Hexter. Studies from the Helen S. Trounstine Foundation. Vol. 1, no. 4, January 15, 1919. 177 p.

This is the most thorough and scientific study of the newsboy that has come to the attention of the writer. Apparently nothing has been left undone to get all the facts that could have a bearing on the newsboy problem in Cincinnati. The study is also a model in arrangement and presentation.

The author had himself been a newsboy only fifteen years ago, but he does not rely on that experience or his own observations for his information. In order to get the necessary subjective acquaintance with the newsboy and his life, investigators were employed to become newsboys. The principal topics investigated were the economic and social status of the newsboy's family, the newsboy and delinquency, truancy and retardation, health and legal status.

Although the impression is quite general that newsboys are the support of widowed mothers, in Cincinnati at least only one in seven is the child of a widow. Only four per cent of the families need the newsboy's earnings to maintain a normal standard of living. Economic necessity is a very small factor. The average newsboy earns only twenty cents a day. Newsboys

are twice as truant as other boys and though less mentally deficient than the average, they show excessive retardation in school. Medical examination shows they have three times the normal amount of heart trouble and a disproportionate amount of flatfootedness and throat troubles.

The author recommends that an ordinance be passed forbidding the employment of any boy under sixteen as a newsboy. Crippled veterans from our army, he believes, should be given a monopoly of the newspaper selling business. This is urged as necessary for the sake of the veterans.

C. C. W.

The Block System in Detroit.—The Detroit bureau of governmental research has convinced the board of assessors that the block system of describing property for taxation should be adopted. There has been some controversy over this matter for some time in Detroit. It seems rather curious to one accustomed to the accuracy, simplicity, and economy of the block system that anyone should object to it. The system involves the description of each parcel of real estate by reference to the Tax Map. The city is divided into blocks, the boundaries of which are permanent. The blocks are numbered consecutively and the lots within the blocks are numbered consecutively. The description in the assessment roll of the real estate is fully accomplished by the use of three numbers. It is a little odd that, in the bulletin of the bureau, tax maps are referred to as land value maps. The latter are for an entirely different purpose, being merely a convenient method of exhibiting the unit values of land.

"Public Ownership," the news letter of the Public Ownership League of America, 1439 Unity Building, Chicago, Illinois, has attained printed form in exchange for the mimeographed style it previously wore. This improvement reflects the growth of the organization set forth in the annual report contained in the current issue. The high spots in the report are the national interest aroused in the railroad question, the agitation in many important cities for municipal ownership of street car lines, electric plants and other utilities, and the increased attention given to the problem of natural resources. To keep pace with the increased activities of the league the financial resources were more than doubled during the last fiscal year, and plans are announced for largely increasing the income this year.

"Home Rule for Cities" is the title of a sixteen page pamphlet by Charles M. Fassett, mayor and commissioner of public utilities of Spokane, Washington. Mayor Fassett points out, with a good deal of feeling and apparently considerable first-hand knowledge, some of the absurdities involved in giving state legislatures control over the details of the administration of cities. The public utility and other "interests" are blamed for the condition under which city councils are "hampered, hamstrung and hog-tied." In contrast to the legislatures, Mayor Fassett finds that the "city councils are in continuous session, their acts open, their processes generally clean, their members closely in touch with and responsible directly and continuously to the voters who elect them." C. C. W.

Model Plan for State and Local Taxation.—The committee of the National Tax Association appointed to prepare a plan of a model system of state and local taxation has submitted a report which is impressive for its thorough treatment of the subject and its clearness of presentation. The broad, general principles laid down in the report seem to me to be sound beyond question. Personally I do not believe that there is any real gain from the taxation of tangible personalty. Though it yields considerable revenue at present, it is difficult to reach, being for the most part movable, unless rates are substantially uniform; and it seems to me that the business tax, supplementing the personal income tax, would adequately reach such wealth. However, as is pointed out in the report, the treatment of tangible personalty does not vitally affect the general plan.

In matters of detail the committee has wisely left such latitude of choice for adapting revenue systems to varying conditions that it is impossible to quarrel with them.

MABEL NEWCOMER.

"Civil Service as a Career" is a pamphlet just issued by a Washington correspondence school (Washington civil service school, Marden building, Washington), ostensibly for the purpose of

attracting pupils. It gives an accurate and concise panorama of the opportunities for the jobless in the service of the federal government, and in view of the discontinuance of the United States Civil Service Commission's "manual of examinations," formerly published semiannually, it will serve also as a useful book of reference. Earl P. Hopkins, president of the correspondence school in question, is the author, and it is evident that he has an interest in and knowledge of the public service beyond what is necessary for the pecuniary purposes of his business. He may be forgiven if he has at one or two points gilded a little too thickly the prospect that opens before the federal civil servant to-day. W. A. B.

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Increase in Municipal Electric Light and Power Stations.—According to the Bureau of the Census, the number of electric light and power stations in the United States in 1917 was 6,541, of which 2,317, or 35.4 per cent, were municipally owned. The increase in municipal plants between 1907 and 1917 is given as 85.1 per cent, whereas the increase in commercial plants for the same period was 22 per cent.

NOTES AND EVENTS

I. GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

New York Tries a New Form of Public Service Commission.—To understand the status of New York City's dual rapid transit system it is necessary to recall the friction between the public service commission of the first district, on the one hand, and Mayor Hylan's board of estimate, on the other, which developed at the beginning of the Tammany administration in 1917. The points of difference involved were the appropriation of funds for completing the rapid transit system and the propriety of raising fares. Even in the case of one company where the commission deemed a higher fare justified, the board of estimate refused to sanction any change.

While Mayor Hylan and the chairman of the commission pursued their controversy in the newspapers the progress of the rapid transit construction was interrupted and engineers were laid off for lack of funds, until it became evident that something must be done if the city's huge investment in the dual system was to be promptly and properly utilized for the relief of existing conjestion of traffic and population. Nothing substantial was accomplished, as long as Governor Whitman held office; but with the election of a Democratic governor, jointly with a Republican legislature, a new situation developed in the shape of a deadlock in the legislative machinery at Albany. The Democratic device to reorganize the public service commission, with its lucrative positions and control of large contracts, was blocked by the Republican determination not to permit such a change.

However, the Republicans finally realized that with a Democratic governor able to veto any bills they might pass, some kind of deal must be made if any Republican measures were to become law. It was also realized that the deadlock in New York City in the rapid transit situation was a serious one for the public interest. The Republicans, therefore, consented at length to a reorganization of the New York city commission.

Meanwhile there arose considerable agitation to have the completion of the rapid transit lines turned over to the board of estimate, as being the appropriate body to direct the construction, since it already had the sole right to appropriate funds for the work. Notwithstanding this, it was finally decided to have the state retain the oversight of the building program, by providing for a construction commissioner for the first district of New York city, appointed by the governor, the regulatory work to be entirely separated and put into the hands of a single regulatory commissioner, also appointed by the governor. As opposed to the original plan of having the public service commission of the first district (consisting of five commissioners) handle as one body both regulation and rapid transit construction, the new plan provides for only two commissioners, with wholly separate functions. Three deputies are provided for the regulatory commissioner and one for the construction commissioner.

The provisions for a single and independent construction commissioner is open to considerable criticism. The combination of duties under the original commission worked well on the whole,

and the advantage of the change is not clear. Moreover, it is a question whether there is any need for a construction commissioner at all, because the rapid transit plans are all made, and comparatively few contracts remain to be let. The experienced engineering force of the former commission was quite competent to complete the work with a minimum of supervision. It was perhaps too much to expect the abolition of any lucrative offices that might be filled by Democrats. Hence the plan for a construction commissioner.

It now remains to be seen whether two single and independent commissioners are as satisfactory as the group of five, initiated under the administration of Governor Hughes in 1907. The change is in line with the tendency towards centralization of authority, and, in the case of rapid transit construction, there may be some advantages in having one person settle all questions, especially an appointee like John H. Delaney, who is in complete accord with Mayor Hylan's administration, and who has been promoted from the office of commissioner of plant and structures.

Where the regulation of corporations is concerned, and such vital questions as the raising of fares are up for consideration, there is a question whether the public interests would not be more effectively safeguarded by a regulating commission of three or five men. It is much easier for corporations to influence or control one man than three or five, and the present regulatory commissioner, Lewis Nixon a former leader of Tammany hall, is already giving out very disquieting interviews favoring the raising of fares in New York city. With the city committed to a five-cent-fare policy, guaranteeing any deficit on the rapid transit lines; with the mayor and the board of estimate standing firm for a five-cent fare; and in face of the almost universal failure of higher fares all over the country, it is very hard to reconcile Mr. Nixon's position with that of the public interests. The progress of his administration must be watched very critically to detect any signs of undue corporation influence.

✻

Right of "Home-Rule" Cities to Determine Public Utility Rates.—The Mountain States Telephone and Telegraph company (Colorado) has been granted a rehearing by the state supreme court in its battle to secure the right to charge the rates granted it by the public utilities commission. On the motion for a rehearing the court was divided four to three.

The right of the public utilities commission of Colorado to regulate public utility rates in home rule cities, such as Denver, formerly was denied by the supreme court, the tribunal holding that the right was vested in the cities themselves.[1] The case is considered an important one in that the decision will affect rates charged by the Denver gas and electric light company and the City tramway company.

✻

Registration of Births and Deaths.—The American Medical Association has issued the following concise statement of the argument for adequate birth and death registration laws:

Proper registration of births and deaths is of great importance to the adult members of any community. Not only are such records necessary for the accurate study of disease and its prevention, but they are also of the utmost importance in all questions relating to heredity, legitimacy, property rights and identity. No child labor law is of value, unless it rests on a system of birth registration and birth certificates, by which the child and the parent can be required at any time to produce positive proof of the age of the child. Laws regulating the age of consent cannot be rigidly enforced, so long as the question of the age of the girl depends on the statements of interested persons rather than on official state records. In practically all other civilized nations, proper registration of births is accepted as a matter of course. Europeans look with astonishment upon the American people, when they learn that there are at present only eleven American states, and the District of Columbia, which have any adequate birth registration. These states are: Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Michigan and Minnesota. Resolutions adopted by the General Federation of Women's Clubs at San Francisco recognized the fact that proper registration of births is absolutely essential for the effective operation of the children's bureau which was established by the federal government in 1913, and of which Miss Julia Lathrop of Chicago is the chief.

Equally important is the proper registration of deaths. No civilized community should allow a human being to die and be buried without a proper official record having been made of the fact. Such records are indispensable in determining death-rates, proportion of deaths and births, duration of life, rates of life insurance, etc., and in preventing and detecting crime.

The association offers a model bill for a state law governing the registration of vital statistics

[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. viii, p. 205.

based on the Pennsylvania law, which has proven most effective. On the other hand, Sam L. Rogers, director of the federal census, proposes federal registration with state co-operation, supporting his suggestion in a statement from which we quote:

Thus far our registration of births and deaths has been under the control of state and local authorities. In some parts of the country good registration laws have been enacted and are being well enforced, but in other sections little has been done. The net result is that only 30 of the 48 states are now registering deaths and only 20 are registering births in such manner as to make the results useful. To be sure, conditions are improving each year, and the states are realizing more and more the importance of complete registration of births and deaths, but if the enactment and enforcement of adequate legislation be left to the states it may be a hundred years before birth and death registration will be even approximately complete throughout the United States.

On the other hand, federal control would insure at once the uniform enforcement of registration throughout the country. With a federal law making compulsory the proper registration of births and deaths, providing penalties, and empowering the federal government to prosecute when necessary through the customary procedure, the existing registration machinery in the various states if kept to the federal standard might be continued. In fact, if there is any fear on the part of the states that the federal government would with such a law usurp some of the privileges of the states, then state rights might well be safeguarded by granting to the federal government power to prosecute only when requested to do so by state authorities. Hearty co-operation between state and federal health authorities has been especially in evidence of late in combating influenza and venereal diseases, and there is every reason to believe that the same co-operation could well be extended to the registration of births and deaths by the enactment of a federal law.

❦

Lawrence (Mass.) Invokes Town Meeting to Probe Financial Condition.—An interesting Massachusetts law, providing a method of calling a town meeting of registered voters, at which city officials are obliged to appear and submit to examination of their official conduct, has been invoked in Lawrence for the purpose of investigating the financial condition of the city. At the instance of Edward S. McAnally, the prime mover in the project, the meeting appointed a committee of five, of which Mr. McAnally was made chairman, to conduct an examination of the mayor, aldermen, and other city officials.

As the result of several sessions of the town meeting, at which the city officials were publicly questioned under oath, it was shown that the city's financial condition is grave. According to the evidence, politics permeates almost all city departments and seriously hampers the public work; the city payroll is overburdened; and officials exercise a willingness to spend public funds without consideration of the taxpayers' interest. Specific instances of waste, over-employment, and failure to collect taxes were uncovered. As a result, with the maximum tax rate permitted, the city faces a deficit of $7,000 for the coming year, and is within about $250,000 of its borrowing capacity.

The mayor, who is also director of finance, was able to outline no plan of action to the committee, and offered no recommendations for economies, except to discontinue the city's child welfare work and to dispense with a handful of firemen and police. Later he added to these recommendations that of an increase in property assessments, and showed ignorance of city charter provisions by advocating an increase in the tax rate, which is already fixed at the maximum point allowed by law.

Thereupon the examining committee took it upon themselves to submit to the town meeting a number of suggestions, which were approved and offered to the city council for its action. These suggestions related to the adoption of scientific methods in property assessments; maintaining the city tax rate at a point lower than the state tax; the collection of delinquent taxes and their application to the reduction of the outstanding temporary loan; the establishment of a city fire fund; and the general economical administration of the city government.

Greater than the specific recommendations adopted is thought to be the moral value of this rather unusual method of spurring municipal officials. It is, therefore, planned to hold further sessions of the town meeting from time to time to keep it alive, in order that it may not be necessary to go again through the formality of getting signatures and calling a new meeting. Under the law the city officials are obliged to respond to calls to this meeting as long as it is kept alive.

❦

National Department of Public Works.—At a gathering of representatives of 71 technical societies, which met in Chicago April 23–25, the engineers, architects and constructors conference

on National Public Works was organized to promote the establishment of a national department of public works. M. O. Leighton, Washington, D. C., secretary of the National Service Committee of the Engineering Council, was elected permanent chairman of the executive committee, and E. S. Nethercut, secretary. A committee on the text of the bill and a campaign committee were also constituted.

The proposal of the conference is to group within a national department of public works—a bureau of public roads; the United States reclamation service; the Alaskan engineering commission; the construction division of the army; a bureau of river, harbor and canal work, including such functions as are now exercised by the Mississippi river commission and the California débris commission; a bureau of architecture; a bureau of surveys, including the coast and geodetic survey; a bureau of mines; the geological survey; the forest service, at least until the same is divorced from the supervision of water powers and road building; the bureau of standards.

It was thought to be unwise to determine at this time to what extent the proposed department of public works should control the engineering activities of the general land office, the National Park Service, the bureau of lighthouses, the bureau of Indian affairs, the public health service and various commissions, such as commissions on buildings and grounds, and it was, therefore, suggested that considerations of such matters be deferred to a later date, preferably until the department has been organized. As the department of the interior employs at this time more engineers than any other department in the world, it was decided that the department was the one most adaptable to being transformed into a department of public works. To this department it is proposed to transfer the various bureaus now operating in other departments and to detach many of the bureaus now included in the department of the interior.

The inability to secure an additional department and cabinet member was well understood and the proposed plan follows the line of least resistance.

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Federal Aid in Establishing Municipal Airplane Landings.[1]—The government's plan for co-operating with municipalities in the establishment of airplane landings and creating a system of aerial highways, capable of use for military, postal, and commercial purposes, has been announced by the air service of the United States army. It was also made known that the air service, co-operating with the Post Office department, hoped in the near future to aid in the laying out of air terminals in at least thirty-two cities and towns from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the Canadian border to the Gulf of Mexico. These points range in size from New York city to Flatonia, Texas, and have been selected for their fitness as places on a national system of air lanes. The new landing fields are to be of four classes, according to the importance of the city, or its position with regard to military, postal or commercial uses. No field should be proposed, the announcement states, unless it is capable of expansion, because the air service is looking ahead to the day when aerial navigation will challenge the older means of transportation.

[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. viii, p. 262.

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Municipal Housing in Pittsburgh.—Pittsburgh has in force a graded tax law which penalizes vacant or unimproved property for the purpose of stimulating the use of such land. At the same time the city itself owns about 2,000 vacant lots, acquired by sheriff sale or otherwise. On this property, to some of which the city has had title for forty or fifty years, it collects no taxes and has made no improvements. Very properly it has been suggested that this land might be used to help relieve the housing situation. In response to an inquiry from the city council, the city solicitor has submitted an opinion in which he holds that the construction of houses on municipally owned property, at the expense of taxpayers, for the purpose of renting these houses and deriving a revenue, no matter how small, is not a function of municipal government and would be unconstitutional. However, he indorses, as legal and desirable, the proposition that the city sell building lots to individuals who would agree to build homes thereon, submit the plans and specifications to the city council, and agree that for a period of years the rent asked would not exceed a stipulated price, in consideration of which the city might sell these home sites at a price less than current values. Another suggestion, made by a member of the city council, is that the city lease lots to individual home builders, making a permanent lease in consideration of the payment of taxes and a

nominal rent of 4 per cent per year. An ordinance embodying this idea is pending in the council. A bill, introduced at the last session of the Pennsylvania legislature, empowering municipalities in the state to acquire property for development and for the erection of dwellings, was allowed to die in committee.

✻

Municipal Home Rule Amendment Progresses in Wisconsin.—After overcoming persistent opposition, the advocates of a constitutional amendment for municipal home rule in Wisconsin succeeded in getting the amendment past the legislature. It is necessary to have the amendment adopted by the next legislature also before it can be submitted to a popular vote. The credit for the present achievement is due largely to the league of Wisconsin municipalities, whose members are gratified by their success in obtaining the first passage of the amendment, usually a more difficult task than the second passage.

✻

County Classification in Pennsylvania.—The Pennsylvania legislature at its recent session passed a law dividing the counties of the state into eight classes, according to population, for uniformity in legislative enactments. The eight divisions of population are (1) 1,500,000 or over; (2) 800,000 to 1,500,000; (3) 250,000 to 800,000; (4) 150,000 to 250,000; (5) 100,000 to 150,000; (6) 50,000 to 100,000; (7) 20,000 to 50,000; (8) less than 20,000. The classification is to be determined from time to time by reference to the decennial federal census.

✻

Illinois Community Councils Plan Activities.—Responding to the request of the field division of the council of national defense for the establishment of community councils, the Illinois state council has appointed Allen D. Albert, a specialist in community problems, as special representative. Already about 60 community councils have been organized in Illinois, their program including the establishment of community memorial houses, new high school buildings, organized recreation, improvement and use of parks, town planning, improvement of water supply and sewage systems, and better housing.

✻

Septic Tank Litigation.—A tentative agreement has been reached between the National Septic Process Protective League, organized in 1916 by representatives of cities operating modern sewage disposal plants, and the Cameron Septic Tank Company, whereby the league is to pay $5,000 to the company, which in turn will release each member of the league from "any and all claims of infringement, damages, profits, or otherwise, arising in any manner under the Cameron patent."[1] As this amount is far less than the cost of taking through the courts the one infringement suit now being defended by the league (namely, that against Shelbyville, Kentucky), the league's attorney advises acceptance of the offer, notwithstanding his confidence of winning the case. The execution of the agreement depends upon the acceptance by the cities constituting the league of a plan submitted by its officers for raising the necessary fund by assessment.

The acceptance of the offer means an end of litigation for all league members. While undoubtedly some users of septic tanks are not members of the league, probably most of them are, so that this settlement will substantially eliminate the Cameron litigation which has been carried on against various cities since 1906.

✻

Recreation Facilities of New York City to Be Studied.—With the indorsement of the city committee on recreation of the New York community councils, the associate alumnae of Barnard College have undertaken an investigation of existing recreations—philanthropic, public, and commercial—in New York as a basis for planning community recreation enterprises that shall be co-operating and self-supporting. Methods of finance, organization, program of activities, and architectural arrangement of a new type of recreation center will be included in this study.

✻

Active Demand for Municipal Bonds at Good Prices.—Efforts to promote needed public improvements, and at the same time to provide employment for discharged soldiers and sailors by stimulating public work, are both reflected and encouraged by the condition of the market for state and municipal bonds. A year ago it was reported that the volume of state and municipal financing for the first six months of 1918 was smaller than for any similar period in ten years or more. According to figures compiled by the *Daily Bond Buyer* of New York, the financing by states and municipalities so far this year was

[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vii, p. 230.

more than twice the corresponding total for last year and greater than the volume in any similar period on record with the exception of 1914 and 1915. The removal of all restrictions placed on local government financing during the war period has resulted in the greatest activity ever known with respect to the making of public improvements and apparently this movement is only commencing. In spite of the supply of new bonds coming into the market, prices are rising steadily and there is no sign of any early lessening in the demand. The outlook is for a very active and strong municipal bond market during the next year or more.

Ithaca, New York, Turns Down Plan C.[1]—Ithaca, New York, at a special election held June 10 voted on the adoption of a city manager form of government and turned it down by a vote of 1,411 to 250, only 33 per cent of the registered voters participating. Reactionary? Not necessarily. It all depends on whether or not Plan C, one of the six optional plans for cities of the second and third classes in New York, can be taken as a touchstone of progress. Apathetic? Many voters did not consider it worth their while to go to the polls, for the defeat of Plan C was a foregone conclusion. Quite a number, it is true, were indifferent.

Plan C provides for a city manager plan of government. The commission would consist of a mayor and four commissioners elected at large for a term of four years at a salary of $500 a year. Under existing laws no provision is made for non-partisan nomination, initiative, referendum or recall.

Many of the needed signatures on the 10 per cent petition calling for this special election had to be secured through paid solicitors. There was no popular demand for Plan C at the time nor did any demand develop during the campaign.

Both of the local dailies invited discussion in their columns and published numerous local contributions besides a series of letters from cities operating under a city manager. Leading local organizations took up the question and heard the best talent on both sides.

The proponents of the new plan pointed out the shortcomings under the present charter—which turns over most of the administration of city affairs to a number of appointed boards and commissions, chief among which is the board of public works. They argued the advantages of centralized power and responsibility in securing economy and efficiency in city government. An appeal was made to progressive men and women to adopt an up-to-date form of government and line up Ithaca with other progressive cities.

Opposed to the plan were, of course, conservatives constitutionally opposed to any change. They were confirmed in their conviction by the general admission that there had been no serious mismanagement under the present charter. Ithaca's financial accounts are in good order and a reasonably satisfactory budget system has been in operation for some time.

The fire department feared that the new plan would interfere with their present position of relative independence. Since this department is well-organized and popular, with over 500 volunteers in its ranks, its influence was marked.

Able men, technical experts and others, have given their time and valuable services freely on the various boards and commissions under the present charter. Many citizens doubted that equally competent men could be induced to serve under a different plan except at high salaries.

Some who were legalistically inclined tried to figure out just how much of the present system would be displaced by Plan C. Would not adopting Plan C be like putting a piece of new cloth unto an old garment?

Many loyal friends of good government who might have taken the lead in a campaign for a Lockport or a Dayton plan were strongly opposed to a plan under which the government of the city would be turned over into the hands of a commission of five nominated at partisan primaries and elected for a four year term with no provisions to safeguard the public interests if these men should prove incompetent or worse—no referendum, no initiative and no recall. The $500 salary for the commissioners met with general disapproval. Friends of Plan C admitted its imperfections and publicly pledged themselves

[1] Ordinarily the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW can devote but few lines to recording the adoption or defeat of the city manager plan. An exception has been made in the defeat of the plan at Ithaca, New York, because it involves the difficulty due to the law which needs revision, and Dr. Saby's article brings out very clearly the need for improvement in the New York legislation on that subject. Another correspondent points out the fact that the New York optional city charter law leaves too many important elements to be worked out by city ordinance, and expresses the opinion that the Ithaca voters—unsatisfactory as their present form of government is—preferred "the ills they have, rather than others they know not of."

to work for remedial legislation at Albany if the plan were adopted.

The citizens of Ithaca did not vote for or against the city manager plan. They voted on whether or not Plan C should replace their present charter, and they decided against such a change. The old charter by no means stands on all fours with current progressive thought; but Plan C, the only alternative at this election, has in it even less of the spirit and substance of progress, though it may comply more fully with its forms. The optional city government law of New York is not what it might be.

Plan C deserved defeat in Ithaca; but unfortunately another result of this campaign and election will most likely be an undue opposition to any change for some time to come.

R. S. Saby.

Cornell University.

City Manager Advocated for Troy, New York.—When Mayor Cornelius F. Burns, of Troy, New York, announced that he would not be a candidate for a fifth term, Trojans generally were skeptical. He has been retained in office by very large majorities for so long and with such general satisfaction that it hardly seemed possible that he wished to retire. Moreover it was remembered that he had made similar announcements before, but upon pressure had entered the campaign. Within a few days of his refusal to run, however, he intensified his statement by such strong confirmations that the city became certain of his intention.

The retirement of Mayor Burns has thrown open the door for new men in public life, and a score of names have been suggested. It is agreed that the pace the present mayor has traveled will make it a difficult matter for any man to follow him. The old-fashioned executive who spent an hour or two in his office, leaving details to subordinates, will not satisfy Trojans again. There is an increased feeling throughout the city in favor of a change in the type of government. This is due in part to the recent vote of Watervliet, a suburb of Troy across the Hudson river, to adopt a commission form of government, and to a growing feeling in Troy that it needs a new deal. While Mayor Burns has eliminated many sinecures and has introduced much modern bookkeeping, the political customs of Troy have prevented much that he presumably would have liked to do. It might be added that the mayor himself is an ardent advocate of the city manager and has talked it in season and out of season for two years. The *Troy Record*, the leading newspaper in the city, supported the commission advocates in Watervliet and favors a city manager for Troy. Several of the possible candidates for office have a similar view. It is suggested that possibly the new mayor may be elected with the city manager idea tentatively a part of his platform and that he may enter upon his duties with the intention of campaigning quietly toward this end throughout his term. At any rate the sincere devotion of the present mayor to municipal progress has created standards which naturally tend toward higher ideals of service.

Dwight Marvin.

An Advanced Electric Power System for Spain.—There is an important lesson for the United States to be learned from the report of the permanent Spanish Electric Commission, which proposes a comprehensive national system for the generation and distribution of electric power. The main source of generation is to be the fairly extensive water power of the country. This will be supplemented in dry seasons by utilizing low-grade coal at the mine mouth, saving haulage and conserving the better grades of coal. A commission of the best scientific and technical men will direct the system. Thus backward Spain tackles a vital problem while our congress is trying to decide which private group of capitalists shall be the recipient of America's vast water power.

Municipal Hydro-Electric Plants on the Pacific Coast.—Apropos of the foregoing paragraph, and passing to the municipal field, it is of interest to note that not only are San Francisco, Los Angeles and Seattle committed to extensive hydro-electric projects, but smaller cities are beginning to favor the municipal ownership idea, and there is ground for the belief that this may spread. A proposition is on foot at Oroville, for the city to buy the electric light system. The prevailing wholesale rate for electricity from this hydro-electric plant is 1 cent per kilowatt hour. This has determined the city to buy energy wholesale and retail it over its own distributing system, deriving a considerable revenue, the local papers have pointed out, through the difference between residence-lighting and wholesale rates.

II. POLITICS

New Charter Gives Philadelphia Better Chance for Decent Government.—In one of the most concise documents of its kind, Philadelphia has won a new charter providing for a single-chambered council of 21 members; municipal street cleaning and repairing, and garbage and waste removal; a shorter ballot; a budget system under a "pay-as-you-go" rule; elimination of the police and firemen from political activity under pain of discharge, fine and imprisonment.

Foremost among the provisions of the new charter is that of a small unicameral council, replacing the present unwieldy bicameral body consisting of 48 select councilmen, one from each ward, and 96 common councilmen. The basis of representation in the new council is the homogeneous senatorial districts, of which there are eight in the city. Thus the evils of petty ward politics are largely eliminated, while the disadvantages of electing the councilmen on a general ticket in a city of Philadelphia's size are avoided. Each senatorial district is entitled to one councilman for each 20,000 assessed voters or majority fraction thereof. A very interesting provision is that "if at any time hereafter the women of the commonwealth shall be given the right to vote, the unit of representation shall be 40,000 assessed voters instead of 20,000." Under this ratio the new council will contain 21 members. The credit for foreseeing the advantages of this mode of representation, and for devising the plan of utilizing the senatorial district as the councilmanic unit is due to Clinton Rogers Woodruff, secretary of the National Municipal League, who has frequently pointed out that such a body constitutes a form of representative government which the voters themselves can handle with a minimum of political organization.

Closely linked with the improvement in the form of the city legislature are provisions for paying each councilman an annual salary of $5,000, and prohibiting dual office holding, an evil which has blighted Philadelphia politics for years.

Other political changes embody a model civil service provision, and the prohibition of political activity or political contributions on the part of the police and firemen. Teeth are provided for the law by permitting any taxpayer to bring proceedings to have the employment of any offender declared illegal and to restrain payment of compensation to him.

The subjugation of Philadelphia to "contractor rule" is so notorious that the dramatic element is readily apparent in the vital provision that the city itself shall do its unspecifiable work, such as street cleaning and repairing, and the collection of ashes, waste, rubbish and garbage, except in special cases when a majority of all the members of the council, with the approval of the mayor, may otherwise direct. The vagueness with which such work must ordinarily be specified, and the latitude of interpretation permitted to political satellites in the rôle of minor officials, have in the past given rise to intolerable excesses on the part of political contractors. It was to correct these scandalous abuses, and to place such work on a basis of honesty and efficiency, that this provision was put into the charter and kept there in the face of the most violent opposition from those who have fattened on the city during a long period, which—be it hoped—is now ended.

Another long step in advance is constituted by the financial provisions of the new charter. The mayor is required to submit to the council by October 15 of each year a statement showing the estimated receipts, fixed liabilities, and proposed expenditures of the city for the ensuing year. This statement must be considered in open session by the council, which, not later than December 15, shall pass an ordinance setting forth the financial program for the ensuing year, at the same time fixing a tax rate that will produce sufficient revenue, with the funds from other sources, to meet the fixed liabilities and the current expenditures set forth in the council's financial program. The limit set in this program cannot be exceeded, and the city comptroller is forbidden to countersign any warrant pertaining to any of the appropriations until the council shall have first passed all appropriations necessary for the expenses of the current year.

Other reforms of only relatively minor importance are contained in the charter. The ballot is shortened by making the city solicitor appointive instead of elective; the bureau of health is raised to the dignity of a department; the bureau of charities is merged in a new department of public welfare; and a purchasing agent supplants the department of supplies.

Important legislation supplementing and vitalizing the new charter provides for the greatly needed revision of the assessors' list of voters; gives practical effect to the system of personal registration; encourages and defends independent voting by permitting a voter to mark a straight party ticket and at the same time mark a candidate in the column of another party; and otherwise restores the electoral machinery to the control of the voters, from whom it has in the past been wrested by the political machine.

The arduous task of preparing the new charter, and of guiding its progress through the legislature, was the lot of a committee of public-spirited men appointed at the "charter dinner" last December. Parenthetically it may be remarked with proper pride that practically every member of the charter committee was a member of the National Municipal League. The committee was under the able leadership of John C. Winston as chairman, while Thomas Raeburn White served as chairman of the sub-committee which drafted the bill. Senator George Woodward, a member of the charter committee, introduced the bill in the legislature.

It remains to be seen what use the voters of Philadelphia will make of the powerful instrument that has been placed in their hands. Theoretically the charter might have been improved by incorporating the principle of non-partisan nomination and election of municipal officials, and of compelling them to stand on personal merits without the aid of party names. But there is little doubt that political consciousness in Philadelphia does not yet require such advanced steps. The overwhelming vote by which the new charter passed the legislature is not significant of the extent of educated public opinion demanding it. An important element among the legislators who voted for the charter first out-heroded Herod in their efforts to kill or emasculate it, turning to its support at the last moment only for reasons of supposed political expediency. Without the utmost pressure from Governor Sproul and from Senator Penrose and his state organization—and, even then, without some compromises—the charter act would never have become law.

It is, therefore, for Philadelphia to live up to the charter she has been granted—rather than to bring the charter up to a higher level—and the body of leading citizens, who cannot be praised too highly for working incessantly for the achievement of the new law, and for fighting the harder at moments when fighting seemed all but hopeless, will do even a greater service if they will now give equal effort to making clear to Philadelphia the meaning and utility of the new bill of rights. This new charter, plus sufficient civic consciousness, spells the downfall of the contractor machine.

RUSSELL RAMSEY.

Chicago's Election Reforms and Fiscal Program.—For several years Chicago's financial affairs have steadily grown worse. As we have previously reported,[1] conditions existing in December, 1917, prompted the city council to petition Governor Lowden to call a special session of the legislature to provide a remedy, to which the governor responded that he would do so when the council obtained the approval of some definite plan for legislation by the city's civic organizations. As an outgrowth of this suggestion, various civic bodies of Chicago did undertake to function in co-operation with the city council, not only with respect to revenue matters, but also in the formulation of a constructive program of legislative needs. The leading organizations participating in a joint conference were the association of commerce, the bureau of public efficiency, the Chicago real estate board, the civic federation, the city club, the citizens' association, and the woman's city club. Other organizations co-operating later in the movement included the Western Society of Engineers, the Chicago woman's club, the Cook County real estate board, the political equality league, the Chicago woman's aid, and the committee of one hundred.

The study which these organizations made of the conditions developed the conclusion that political changes as well as changes of policy were required to correct the situation, and that in fact the former were fundamental. The conference committee of civic organizations therefore formulated and approved in principle the features of a legislative program for Chicago. A committee representing the conference acted with a special committee of the city council in putting the principal points of this program into the form of bills for presentation to the legislature. The result was four bills, of which the essential features were as follows:

1. Non-partisan elections for aldermen, mayor,

[1] NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vii, p. 516.

city clerk and city treasurer, so long as they shall remain elective by popular vote.

2. Reorganization of the council by reducing the number of aldermen from 70 to 35, one from each ward, all elected at the same time, for four-year terms, subject to a limited popular recall, thus reducing the number of elections (each city election eliminated means of saving of about $700,000); this bill made the city clerk and city treasurer appointive by the city council; it also contained provisions calculated to insure that the city be immediately redistricted into wards of equal population.

3. Provision for a limited popular recall for mayor, after one year in office, on the same terms as for aldermen.

4. A manager form of government, the mayor to be chosen by the city council, and to hold office as its pleasure.

While there was general agreement on these bills, some reservations were made. The association of commerce, speaking through its executive committee, withheld indorsement of the city manager plan and the recall. The civic federation conceded the recall (on condition that it be limited in nature) only in deference to the view of many other organizations that approval of a four-year term for aldermen could not be secured without such a provision, and through a desire not to hamper the general program. The city council, on the other hand, indorsed only three of the bills, going on record as being opposed to the manager plan. It also recommended 50 wards instead of 35.

In spite of the lack of complete unanimity upon the manager plan and the recall, the conference committee of civic organizations favored the passage of all four bills, because even if approved by the legislature they required approval by a city referendum, and the committee advocated the giving of an opportunity to the people of Chicago to express themselves on the issues involved. The bills, however, were subjected to considerable modification by the legislature. The non-partisan election bill was made applicable only to aldermen. The number of wards was increased to 50, and the number of aldermen reduced to that figure, providing for one from each ward. The recall and the manager plan failed of passage.

The net gain of the program, therefore, is a council, reduced from 70 to 50 members, to be elected on a non-partisan ballot; but the bills embodying these provisions, as already stated, require ratification by a popular referendum. A subsidiary referendum is provided by which the voters may indicate whether they wish the aldermen elected for two or four years.

A bill was also passed discontinuing all legal holidays now allowed on account of elections, except the holidays falling upon the biennial general state election day.

On the financial side, the finance committee of the city council prepared a budget for 1919 amounting to $36,000,000 for general purposes, and requiring a tax rate of $2.85 in place of the existing rate of $1.20, which is the maximum allowed by state law. The bureau of public efficiency, acting specifically on its own behalf, but generally on behalf of all the groups, served notice that this was not satisfactory and that the council's proposal for an increased rate would be opposed unless there were conferences and agreement with the civic organizations. This notice was respected by the finance committee, and after much study the civic organizations proposed a reduction of the budget to $28,000,000, with a $2 tax rate.

The fight being carried to the legislature, a general tax rate of $2.15 was granted, based on existing valuations, and a time limit of three years was put upon this rate. Provision was also made for changing the assessed valuation of property from one-third to one-half of the real value for the purpose of increasing the bonding power of the city by about $27,500,000. In order not to increase the taxes unduly, the rate is to be simultaneously scaled down proportionately. This will mean that at the new valuation the rate for the city will be $1.43½.

The school tax was also increased from $1.20 to $1.80, the Cook County corporate rate from 45 cents to 55 cents, and a special tax of 4 cents for mothers' pensions was granted to the county.

As showing how many tax levying bodies exist in Chicago, the legislature had to pass about 60 tax levy laws adjusting the rates to the new valuation.

An English Tax on Political Ambition.—Taking a sporting chance may become a popular effort among aspiring statesmen in England. The new election laws allow nearly anyone to become a candidate for parliament, but require that each aspirant post a forfeit of $750. If he obtain one-eighth of all the votes cast, a candidate's forfeit is returned to him. Otherwise his bet upon his own popularity goes to the public treasury.

III. MISCELLANEOUS

National Municipal League Prizes.—The committee on prizes has announced that the William H. Baldwin prize of $100 for 1920 will be awarded for the best essay, not to exceed 10,000 words, on "The Present Status of the City Manager Plan and Its Application to Small Cities and Towns," or "The Influence of Foreign-born Leaders in Municipal Politics." The prize is offered to undergraduate students registered in a regular course in any college or university in the United States offering direct instruction in municipal government. Essays submitted in this competition must be forwarded not later than March 15, 1920.

The Morton Denison Hull prize of $250 for the best essay on a subject connected with municipal government is offered to post-graduate students who are, or who have been within a year preceding the date of the competition, registered and resident in any college or university of the United States offering distinct and independent instruction in municipal government. Any suitable subject for an essay not to exceed 20,000 words may be selected by a competitor for the Hull prize provided it be submitted to the secretary of the league and approved by him at least thirty days before the time set for the close of the competition, which is September 15, 1920.

Duplicate typewritten copies of all essays in either competition must be delivered to an express company not later than the date set, addressed to Clinton Rogers Woodruff, Secretary of the National Municipal League, North American Building, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and marked "For the (insert here the name of the) Prize." Competitors will mark each paper with a *nom-de-plume* and enclose in a sealed envelope the full name, address, class and college corresponding to such *nom-de-plume*.

For any additional details concerning the scope and conditions of either competition, inquiries may be addressed to the Secretary.

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Cleveland's Lax Law Enforcement Criticised by Grand Jury.—A special grand jury which has been investigating crime conditions and the administration of justice in Cleveland severely criticised in its report the official conduct of the director of public safety and the county prosecutor, declaring them to be inefficient and unfit for office, and recommending their resignation or removal. The report also declares that the vice squad has failed to perform its duty; that pool and grill rooms are the rendezvous of criminals; that gambling, the selling of pools, and prostitution have flourished largely without interference; that the system of bail bonds furnished by city councilmen and other public officials is a travesty on justice; that by a certain class of lawyers exorbitant fees are exacted from unfortunates; that judges of the common pleas and municipal courts have too freely exercised the power of parole and of the suspension of sentences in criminal cases; that the non-partisan ballot in the election of judges has increased political influence in the disposition of criminal cases; that the exercise of the power of the director of public welfare to parole prisoners from the correction farm has encouraged the commission of crime; and that, in general, it is a collection of forces, rather than a single force, which has caused the criticism and "crime wave" in the county and city.

The grand jury also returned eleven indictments, most of them for perjury in connection with bail bonds.

Cleveland's crime investigation was instituted after Common Pleas Judge Willis Vickery, in November, 1918, issued a statement in which he said conditions in Cuyahoga county were alarming, and urged that the Cleveland bar association act to eliminate undesirable members of the profession.

Shortly after, a special investigating committee of the bar association was named. This committee reported that "justice in Cuyahoga county has broken down as the result of toleration, laxity and inefficiency in public office, and leniency to criminals."

A plea then was made for a state investigation of conditions, and Governor Cox named W. L. Day and W. D. Wilkin special state prosecutors, to conduct such a probe.

Since February Messrs. Day and Wilkin have served without pay in gathering evidence and presenting it to a special grand jury, authorized by a special act of the legislature. Hundreds of witnesses have appeared before the jury.

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A Notable "Welcome Home" Celebration.—Because of the centennial celebration of one of

its industries, the town of Southington, Connecticut, will have one of the most elaborate "Welcome Home" ceremonies and festivities for its soldiers of any town of its size in the country.

The Peck, Stowe and Wilcox Company, hardware manufacturers, will celebrate on August 29 and 30, the closing of one hundred years of hardware manufacturing in Southington. In recognition of the occasion they are having built, to donate to the town, a massive memorial to all its soldiers, which shall serve as a base for a flag pole and flag, also to be given by this company.

The occasion will be utilized as a fitting one on which the town may pay honor to its returned soldiers of the great war, and also as a general "home-coming" time for former residents of Southington as well.

Speakers of national prominence, a pageant dramatizing the military and industrial history of the town and state, and a military parade will be other features of the celebration.

Ten thousand people are expected to attend a huge community picnic which the Peck, Stowe and Wilcox Company will give the day before these features of the celebration.

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Municipal Shakespearean Performances.—London is to provide municipal Shakespearean performances for its school children, a significant innovation adopted at a recent meeting of the L. C. C. education committee. The decision came about as a result of a deputation received from the London Shakespeare League with reference to: (i) The question of the establishment of a municipal theatre for London; and (ii) a proposal that the presentation of classical and high class drama should receive municipal support.

The general purposes committee, being of opinion that the value of the acted drama as an adjunct to the council's educational system was a question upon which it ought to have the views of the education committee before considering the matter in its wider and more general aspect, asked that committee for observations on the educational considerations involved in the two proposals submitted by the league. The committee had an opportunity of considering the views of a number of head teachers and others interested in the movement for the organisation and extension of children's Shakespearean performances in London, and came to the conclusion that the time has now arrived when the council should take same steps with a view to consolidating the work which has been set on foot mainly on the initiative of certain head teachers,

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Municipal League of Indiana to Reorganize.—While the limitations of our space ordinarily preclude comment on meetings of state municipal leagues, there is special interest in the action taken at the recent convention of the municipal league of Indiana to reorganize along more effective and efficient lines in view of the many changes which war work and war problems have effected in cities. A committee headed by Robert E. Tracy, director of the bureau of government research for the Indianapolis chamber of commerce, was appointed to prepare a new constitution and a plan of action. A notable address on the model city charter was delivered at the convention by Mr. Tracy.

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State Association of County Comptrollers Authorized for Pennsylvania.—A recent act of the Pennsylvania legislature authorizes the county comptrollers to organize a state association and hold meetings for the purpose of discussing questions relating to their duties. The new association is planned along the lines of the state association of county commissioners, with which it may meet jointly. County comptrollers, deputies, and comptrollers' solicitors are to be allowed traveling expenses for attendance upon the annual meeting.